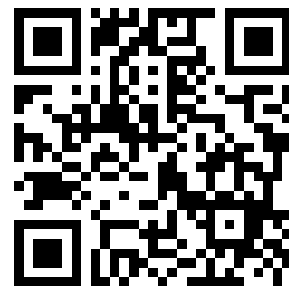

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*Ancient and modern Malta, as
also, the history of the knights ...*

Pierre Marie Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu



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J. W. Warburton.



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ANCIENT AND MODERN
MALTA:
CONTAINING
A FULL AND ACCURATE ACCOUNT
OF THE
PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLANDS OF
MALTA AND GOZA,
THE HISTORY OF THE
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM,
ALSO
A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS WHICH ATTENDED THE
CAPTURE OF THESE ISLANDS BY THE FRENCH, AND THEIR
CONQUEST BY THE ENGLISH:
AND
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING AUTHENTIC STATE-PAPERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

BY LOUIS DE BOISGELIN,
KNIGHT OF MALTA.

"De tous les Ordres qui prirent Naissance à l'Occasion des Guerres de la Terre Sainte, celui de ST. JEAN est le seul qui, conservant l'Esprit de sa première Institution, a toujours continué depuis à défendre la Religion."
HENAULT.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
A large Chart of the Islands; Views, Portraits, Antiques, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORIANS of all ages have transmitted to posterity the dying words of expiring heroes; and related, with precision and with just praises, those memorable actions which so deservedly entitled them to that glorious epithet. It appears, therefore, extraordinary, that an Order ever distinguished for piety, military exploits, and wise form of government—an Order which had hitherto triumphed even in the midst of misfortunes—should cease to exist, and no kind pen, no friendly hand, be found to rescue it from oblivion.

Several different authors have described the laws and statutes of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem with great exactness, and have spoken of the virtues and valiant deeds of its members with equal strength and eloquence. Vertot, in particular, has thrown a light on the history of Malta which time itself can never efface:

and it is greatly to be regretted, that the man who has so forcibly described the religious and military actions of the pious personages and celebrated warriors who have raised the glory of the Order to so high a pitch, from the first moment of its institution to the beginning of the eighteenth century, should no longer exist, to record the fatal events which have so cruelly annihilated it. He alone could do justice to Malta, render the last honours to her memory, and throw over her the funereal pall; which, it is much to be dreaded, will never be removed.

How truly should I value and admire the pen which could trace to posterity, and to the whole Christian world, the sentiments of affection and esteem felt for the knights of Malta by the surrounding nations!—sentiments so justly due to their hospitality and military prowess, and of which the inhabitants of Calabria and Sicily must most particularly partake*. To them, indeed, I may with justice appeal, since by them the hospitable virtues of the knights of St. John can never be forgotten. Neither the severity of the weather, nor the passage through the Faro of Messina, which at the season of the year when the earthquake happened is extremely dangerous, could abate the zeal of the Order: and, notwithstanding

* See the account of the earthquake in Calabria and Sicily, and the relief afforded the inhabitants by the knights of Malta, Vol. III. p. 12. . . .

the galleys were laid up for the winter, preparations were so quickly made, that, thirty-six hours after the arrival of the dreadful intelligence, they set sail for Sicily, carrying with them medicine-chests, tents, beds, surgeons—in short, every thing necessary for fitting up an hospital.

The standard of St. John floating in the air, was the first signal of relief perceived by these miserable sufferers; and the knights of Malta eagerly flew to alleviate their distress. They distributed among them every thing requisite to supply the exigence of the moment; and thousands of people on the Quay of Messina daily received provisions from their hands. How affecting was the scene, to behold these same knights, accompanied by the surgeons, searching among the ruins, and rescuing from destruction the unhappy beings who were buried beneath them, and whose wounds prevented their making any efforts for themselves! They next proceeded to the miserable dwellings scattered over the fields, in which some of these wretched sufferers had sought an asylum, whilst others, still more wretched, were stretched on the ground, where I myself beheld them, bathed in their blood. To these likewise the knights administered relief, and even applied the first dressing to their wounds; thus affording that assistance which the unfortunate victims had vainly implored from their fellow-citizens.

During the whole of their stay on this desolated shore, they continued their pious occupations, and found means to shelter, from the inclemency of the weather, numbers of beings who had been reduced to rest their weary limbs on the cold bosom of their mother earth.

If such, then, were the hospitable virtues of the knights of St. John, their military exploits were surely equally conspicuous! How easily could I point out the memorable and recent periods when the Maltese galleys and men-of-war so gloriously combated, in the post of honour on the African Sea, in the midst of the Christian fleets, when they threatened with destruction the coast of Barbary, and spread universal terror to the very walls of Algiers! But I will leave to others this wide field of glory, and confine myself, in the following pages, to a slight sketch of the history of the knights of St. John, from their first establishment in the island of Malta till the fatal moment when they were so cruelly forced to abandon it.

How frequently shall I regret, in this rapid account of the memorable exploits of the heroes who have done honour to Malta, the impossibility of placing before the reader the names of all those whose actions have obtained the prize of immortality, and

who must ever live in the memory of their successors! The barbarians who have defiled, mutilated, and laid waste the monuments erected in remembrance of their virtues by the hand of Piety and Gratitude, have, if possible, added to their shame, and rendered the memory of these heroes still more dear, by proving to mankind how necessary are the services of such warriors to free the world from those detestable monsters. The noble sarcophagi, the rich tombs which decorated the church of St. John, where the magnificent efforts of art seemed exhausted, ought to have entitled the knights to the respect and veneration of even these destroyers. All, all have been overthrown—mercilessly broken—and their contents dispersed! Who knows, but, in some future day, the precious remains of La Valette and L'Isle Adam may be found in the same place into which those of Turenne have been thrown! and who knows, but they may likewise receive the same honours which are now so eagerly paid to the memory of that great general!*

How cruelly painful must be the reflexions of a conqueror, the lover of true glory and the fine arts, who, intoxicated with

* I have just learned, that every thing which was not of gold, silver, or precious stones, has been respected: I therefore think it proper to do immediate justice, in that particular, to the scrupulous executors of the orders of the directory.

success, has suffered the laurels of victory to be planted in the midst of heaps of rubbish, the sad remains of fallen edifices ! Alas ! the faded state of those laurels must quickly convince him of his error, and serve as a severe lesson on future occasions. The ruins of Persepolis are to this day an indelible stain on the memory of him who vainly hoped to make amends for the destruction of that city by laying the foundation of Alexandria, where the invaders of the present day have fruitlessly sought the monuments of ancient times, and carried their ambition so far as to attempt re-building its walls. Arts once lost cannot be restored ; since those which flourished in one century can never equally suit the taste of another.

I can never sufficiently regret, that I should be compelled, in the course of this history, to place, in the same page with the most illustrious personages who have honoured the Order, names (though happily but few in number) which ought for ever to be proscribed. The history of their crimes will serve as a striking instance of the frailty of human nature, which yields to temptation even in presence of the most sublime virtue.

And you, illustrious, religious dames ! who, after the example of the original hospitallers of St. John, have devoted yourselves to

the relief of the poor and sick of your own sex, think not I will pass over in silence your distinguished virtues! It may, perhaps, be asked, why you, who are associated with the hospitallers, who have regarded them as your superiors, and have always accompanied them, have never, equally with themselves, had historians to publish those heroic and charitable deeds which, in whatsoever countries you have been dispersed, have so deservedly obtained the admiration of the rich and the blessings of the poor? The reason, alas! is clear; since the peaceful and secret virtues of religion and charity offer nothing interesting to a corrupted world, which demands brilliant acts of valour to arrest its attention—acts but too frequently stained with blood, which your tender hands have stanchd in silence. Your glory, like that of the God whose example you follow, is not of this world. If, indeed, it subsists any where in all its purity, it must be in the breasts of those who practise the same virtues; of those who owe their existence to your charitable care, and who, like you, look up to the joys of another life, to console them for the transitory troubles of this.

Let the curious reader now proceed to examine the origin of hospitals, and he will evidently perceive, that the admirable institutions, founded by the true spirit of charity for the relief of suffering humanity, where the poor found an asylum, and the sick were

snatched from the jaws of death, were not the work of Pagan hands. The legislators and philosophers of the heathen world preached no such doctrine; for the gods worshipped by idolaters breathed nothing but battle and vengeance, and delivered themselves up to all the disorderly passions of men. For one simple altar raised to Benevolence, more than a hundred magnificent temples were erected in honour of Venus.

Rome, whilst plunged in the dark abyss of idolatry—nay, even Greece herself, so renowned for wise laws and sublime institutions—could never boast of either law or institution dedicated to the relief of miserable humanity. And ye, pious Numa! wise Solon! virtuous Lycurgus! why, O why did ye forget, in the midst of so many religious establishments, that which, doubtless, must ever be the most pleasing to the Divinity—an asylum for the sick and dying!

How glorious would it be for the academies, lyceums, and porticoes, of Pagan philosophy, which have given to the world so many illustrious personages worthy of admiration, could I present to my reader only one of the disciples of that philosophy, who, on quitting its schools, had given freedom to his slaves, or commanded them to stretch out a pitying hand to relieve the distress

of an unfortunate being sinking before them under the accumulated weight of indigence and infirmities !

The most enlightened part of mankind, in those distant ages, was almost equally divided into two sects of philosophers. But what efforts of humanity could be expected, either from the Stoics, who, taught to despise pain and misery in their own persons, were naturally insensible to the sufferings of others, or from the followers of Epicurus, whose happiness consisted in the successive enjoyment of sensual pleasures, which the spectacle of an unfortunate fellow-creature would have only served to interrupt ?

Neither do the boasted religion and government of China or India, offer any asylum to either master or slave, reduced to poverty or suffering from sickness. Those, indeed, who believed in the metempsychosis, erected hospitals for animals, into which even the most impure were received : man alone was forgotten.

It was, then, reserved for Christianity to shed its benign influence around, and bestow this new blessing on a suffering world. To the honour of the female sex let it be said, that a woman was the first founder of such a pious institution in the capital of the world.

The affecting spectacle of a God expiring on a cross for the salvation of all mankind, who, in his dying moments, even forgave his executioners—his disciples constantly preaching the duty of loving our neighbour as ourselves—the doctrine of the Gospel, which proves that all men are equal in the eyes of their Creator—must naturally revive in the human breast that sensibility so long stifled by the erroneous tenets of idolatrous lawgivers and philosophers.

Fabiola*, a Roman lady, moved by the tears and groans of the wounded and dying mercilessly left extended in the public squares of the city, felt, from the principles of her religion, that it was the duty of the rich in this world to alleviate the distress of the suffering poor, and afford them shelter in their misfortunes; she therefore instantly devoted her immense fortune to the construction of a spacious edifice, in a healthy situation, for the reception of the sick and infirm, where they were supplied with proper food, and every possible assistance.

The Christian emperors in the East likewise vied with each other in establishing houses on the same plan. Constantinople alone soon contained thirty-five charitable institutions, in which the

* See *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Art. *Hôpital*.

poor and sick of all descriptions were received, and their necessities relieved.

The hospital of St. John existed in Jerusalem from the reign of Justinian. It was principally intended for the reception of strangers, and the great crowds of pilgrims who constantly thronged from all parts to visit the Holy Sepulchre: it afterwards became a nursery for the knights of Malta; and the time they passed in that place may well be regarded as the golden age of their history.

I do not intend, in this work, to write the history of those primitive times, nor of the knights of St. John, afterwards knights of Rhodes; I shall only present to my reader a chronological historical table*, with observations, of the principal events which took place in the reigns of the successive grand-masters, from the time of Gerard till the epoch when L'Isle Adam was obliged to abandon Rhodes. I have corrected the dates of several facts, which were erroneous in most of the ancient authors who have treated of the Order, and taken notice of other mistakes, which, from never having been rectified, had glided into the works of more modern historians.

* Intended to make part of a complete history of Malta, about which I have for some time past been employed.

(WITH OBSERVATIONS)

NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
1. Peter Gerard.	1099	Provence, in France.	Modern authors have, by an extraordinary mistake, called this grand-master <i>Tum</i> or <i>Tunc</i> : this arose from their having met with the expression <i>Gerardus Tum</i> or <i>Gerardus Tunc</i> ; thus changing an adverb into a surname .....	.....	Codice del Sac. Ord. Mil. Geros. <i>(Error.)</i> Vertot, ditto. Brosio, ditto.
			Born at Amalfi, according to..... Born at Avènes, in Hainault, according to .....	..... .....	Art de vérifier les Dates. Sebastian Paoli.
			Born at St. Genior in the Island of Martique, in Provence. His body was sent to the church of the commandery or bailiwick of Manosque in that province. This last opinion is the most prevalent, and appears very nearly proved to demonstration by the Author of the History of Provence .....	.....	P. Antonio Paolo.
			Capture of Jerusalem	1099	Art de vérifier les Dates. Bouche, Hist. de Provence, vol. I. page 31.
			Bull of pope Paschal II., dated February 15, confirming the institution of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, together with all the donations bestowed on it. Likewise enfranchising all lands belonging to the said Hospital from tithes, together with all those which might in future fall into it; and enacting, that the successor of Gerard should	1113	Cardinal de Vitry Ditto.

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
1. Peter Gerard.	1099	Provence, in France.	be freely elected by common consent of the Brothers. Pope Calixtus II. issued another bull on the 19th of June: which gives reason to believe he was still alive at that time, though he was generally supposed to have died in 1118. In the ancient bulls and charters he is entitled Provost and Guardian of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.	1120	Art de vérifier les Dates. Cronografo Mal- leacease.
2. Raymond du Puis, or del Push, or de Podio.	from 1120 to 1121	Dauphiné, in France.	Some authors insist that he was an Italian, born at Florence. A modern writer declares the place of his birth to be Lucca. Notwith- standing all that has been said to the contrary, he certainly was the im- mediate successor of Gerard, and not Fra. Broyant Roger. The Order became military, and took the oaths to the patriarch of Jerusalem. An act passed the 9th of Decem- ber between the brothers of the Hospital and the chapter of the church of Tripoli, in which Ray- mond was entitled Master and Father of the Hospital of St. John of Jeru- salem. Raymond was the first who took the title of <i>Master of the Sacred Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem</i> . He bestowed a particular habit on the members of the Order, and made the first regulations, not in a gene- ral chapter, but in a particular as- sembly held in the convent. In these first statutes, two classes of brothers are alone mentioned, viz. the Clerks and the Laicks. The distinction between knights of arms and servants of arms did not take place till the pontificate of Anastas- ius IV. in 1153. Pope Innocent II. ordained, that the banner of St. John should bear a white cross on a red field 1121 1125 1130	Cod. del Sac. At the latest. Art de vérifier les Dates. Vertot. (<i>Error.</i>) Art de vérifier les Dates. Art de vérifier les Dates.

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
3. Auger de Balben.	1160	Dauphiné, in France.	Baldwin III. in a diploma calls him Otteger, According to Naberat, nothing remains of the reign of this prince, but his name. Sebastian Paoli says he supported pope Alexander II. against the anti-pope Victor. The time of his death is not known .....	.....	Cod. del Sac..
4. Arnaud de Comps.	1160 or 1162	Dauphiné, in France.	A supposititious grand-master (see <i>l'Art de vérifier les Dates</i>), notwithstanding the testimony of all modern historians who have written on Malta, excepting father Pacciandi .....	.....	Vertot fixes the time of his death in 1167. (An error.)
5. Gerbert d'Assaly, or Gilbert de Sally.	1162	Tyre.	The place of his birth was only known from the declaration he made in an act for the purchase of an estate, which is thus dated: <i>Regnante Balduino Rege et Regina Milisanda ejus Madre</i> : to which are added the following words, <i>Gilebertus de Tyre</i> . De Vaisette, who has written the History of Languedoc, confounds this grand-master with Gauceline or Gaucelin d'Assilan, and places him before Gerbert d'Assaly. <i>L'Art de vérifier les Dates</i> proves the identity of these two names; which, in fact, make only one. He accompanied the king of Jerusalem to Egypt .....	..... 1168	Seb. Paol.
			He assisted in taking Belbeis, or Pelusium, according to some authors; and Leontopolis, according to others. This town was sold to the Hospitallers, who evacuated it the same year. This grand-master resigned his authority	1169	
			Died on his passage from Dieppe to England, on the 29th of September	1183	See Roger Hoveden, who gives him the title of <i>Magnus Magister</i> .
			Some letters of his to Louis VII., king of France, are still in exist-		

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[illegible]

NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
8. Roger de Mou- lin.	from 1173 to 1177	Normandy in France.	<p>pital during the time which passed between the sending to the pope, and the arrival of the bull confirming the election of Gastus.</p> <p>Disputes between the Hospitallers and Templars decided in favour of the former by the pope, who insisted that the Orders should make peace</p> <p>The grand-master sent to Europe to solicit assistance against Saladin -</p> <p>The grand-master, and the knights who accompanied him on the expedition, killed by the troops of Assdal, the son of Saladin</p>	<p>1179</p> <p>1184</p> <p>1187</p>	See Brompton, an English historian.
9. Garnier	1187	Naplouse, in Syria, the ancient Sichem.	<p>Different authors have asserted, that this grand-master was killed at the battle of Tiberias; but he escaped, and took refuge at Ascalon.</p> <p>According to Baudoin, and many other writers, he only reigned two months; but, in a charter of Guy of Jerusalem, it appears he was still alive, and grand-master, on the 1st of February, 1191.</p> <p>Capture of Ascalon the 4th of September</p> <p>Of Jerusalem, the 2d of October...</p> <p>Of St. John d'Acre, the 13th of July, after a siege of two years</p>	<p>1189</p> <p>1187</p> <p>1187</p> <p>1191</p>	Baudoin. (Error.)
10. Ermengerd or Emengard Daps.	1191	.....	<p>Was grand-master for a very short time. Modern authors place his death in</p>	<p>1192</p>	Vertot. (Error.)
11. Godefroi de Duisson, or Gausfred de Donium.	1191	<p>The majority of modern historians assert that he only reigned two years; but there exists a charter which proves he was grand-master in the month of May 1201.</p> <p>Quarrel between the Hospitallers and Templars, adjudged in favour of the former by pope Innocent III. ...</p>	<p>1199</p>	Sebastian Paoli, vol. I. page 98.

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
12. Alphonso of Portugal, or Prince of Portugal. (See Vertot.)	1202	.....	Could not possibly have been elected before 1202, though the ge- nerality of historians make him grand-master in 1194 The grand-master abdicated the same year..... A general chapter held at Margat. Many of the statutes made at that time are still existing. After his abdication, the grand-master retired into Portugal .....	..... 1202 1202	Baudoin. Vertot. (Errors.)
13. Geofroi le Rat.	1202	France.	Vertot erroneously states that the above-mentioned disputes between the Hospitallers and the Templars took place in this mastership.		
14. Guerin de Montaigu.	1208	Auvergne, in France.	The Hospitallers possessed at that time in Christendom 19,000 <i>manors</i> , whilst the Templars had only 9,000. The term <i>manor</i> , or <i>manre</i> , meant the tillage of a plough and two oxen. Guerin, according to some au- thors, was elected in He, together with his knights, per- formed distinguished acts of valour at the siege of Damietta Andrew, king of Hungary, entered into the Order of Hospitallers The grand-master went to Europe, and refused, equally with the Tem- plars, to obey the orders of the em- peror Frederic II., that prince being excommunicated.....	..... 1206 1218 1222 1228	See Matthew Pa- ris, a contem- porary histori- an, in the year 1224. See Baudoin. (Error.)
15. Bertrand de Taxis.	1230	.....	This grand-master did not live later than the year 1231; notwith- standing a variety of authors have advanced the contrary	1231 	See Baudoin. (Error.)
16. Guerin or Gerin.	1231	According to a charter of the 26th of October. It was to this prince, and not to his successors, that pope	See Sebastian Paoli.

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NAMES of the Grand Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
16. Guerin or Gerin.	1231	.....	Gregory recommended the interests of Frederic II. It is said that the grand-master, with twenty-six of his knights, were slain in battle, fighting against the Kharismians: but the barbarians did not enter Palestine till 1244.	.....	See Vertot. (Error.) Bertrand. (Error.) See Vertot. (Error.)
17. Bertrand de Comps.	1236	Dauphiné, in France.	At the end of this mastership, the Order had in different places 3500 chapels The grand-master, in a letter rela- tive to the equipment of a vessel for the Holy Land, forbade any jewels, gold, or silver, being taken, except laced-hats. This grand-master died in though some authors pretend he lived till 1248.	1237 1241	See Alderic. See Sebastian Paoli. Bertrand. (Error.) Vertot. (Error.)
18. Pierre de Vil- lebride.	1241	.....	The Kharismians entered Palestine at the request of Nogemadin, soudan of Egypt They took Jerusalem. A bloody battle, which lasted two days, the 17th and 18th of October, 1244. The grand-master was slain, and only sixteen Hospitallers escaped the sword of the Infidels. Sebastian Paoli places the death of the grand- master in 1248, according to a char- ter of his successor: but there was certainly a mistake in the date of that writing.....	1244 	See Matthew Pa- ris. In a letter written by the grand-master, Châteauneuf. Bertrand. (Error.) Sebastian Paoli. (Error.)
19. Guillaume de Châteauneuf.	1244	France.	The grand-master joined the king of France, St. Louis, at Damietta He was taken prisoner on the 5th of April, and remained in captivity eighteen months He arrived at St. John d'Acre on the 17th of October The Hospitallers contributed to- wards the ransom of St. Louis. The Kharismians made a new ir-	1249 1250 1251	See Matthew Paris.

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
19. Guillaume de Châteauneuf.	1244	France.	<p>ruption: their chief dignified with the title of Emperor of the Persians, by the name of Barka-Kan.</p> <p>The grand-master entered into a league with the soudan of Aleppo. They were defeated, and Châteauneuf taken prisoner.</p> <p>Fresh disputes between the Hospitallers and the Templars.</p> <p>A dreadful action took place between these two Orders, and scarcely a Templar remained to give an account of the affair to his Order.</p> <p>Till that time there was no distinction between the Knights Hospitaliers and the Serving Brothers: pope Alexander IV., in a bull of the ides of August, issued orders, that the Knights should wear a black cloak, <i>clamydes nigras</i>, to distinguish them from the Serving Brothers; and when in battle, a kind of red petticoat, with other ornaments of the same colour; and a white cross embroidered on them, in the same style as on the banners</p> <p>Whether Châteauneuf, or his successor, received this bull, remains doubtful.</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>1259</p> <p>1259</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>See Joinville.</p> <p>Seb. Paoli.</p>
20. Hugues de Revel.	1259	Auvergne, in France.	<p>Ninety knights were slain in defending the Castle of Assur against Bibars, or Bondochars, sultan of Egypt</p> <p>Till the reign of Hugues de Revel, the chief of the Hospitaller Order was only termed <i>Master</i> of the Order by the popes. Clement IV. was the first who gave him the title of <i>Grand Master</i>, in a brief, dated the 18th of November, 1267</p> <p>The Hospitallers being shut up in the fortress of Krac, defended themselves most valorously against Bon-</p>	<p>1265</p> <p>1267</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>The name of Hugues is changed to that of William in the Acts of the Council of Lyons, which confound it with that of his predecessor.</p>

NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
20. Hugues de Revel.	1259	Auvergne, in France.	dochars; notwithstanding which, they every one perished The grand-master travelled west- ward, and assisted at the council of Lyons, where he took place of all the ambassadors and peers of France. A general chapter held at Cesareo. Fresh taxes laid on each house be- longing to the Order, to go towards the expenses of the war. The mo- ney raised by these taxes was to be paid every year into the treasury of the Order. All letters of commission having the expression—"We recommend to you, <i>Domino Commendamus</i> ," Vertot concludes that the titles of Com- manderies and Commanders came from thence: but these titles are of a more ancient date. There is still in existence a charter of Henry count of Champagne, given on the 4th of June, 1194, in which there appear among the witnesses, <i>Frater Robertus Anglicus, tunc Commendator Domus Hospitalis acconensis</i> . It is, however, a fact, that in former times commanders were most commonly called Preceptors, and their bene- fices Preceptories. The grand-master died in Pales- tine	1269 1273 1278 1278	Seb. Paol. Vertot. (<i>Error.</i>) Seb. Paoli.
21. Nicholas de Lorgue.	1278	.....	Mausour, soudan of Egypt, de- clared war against the Christians.— Siege and capture of the fortress Margat, belonging to the Knights Hospitallers..... The grand-master went to Europe, and died when he returned.....	1284 1289	
22. Jean de Vil- liers.	1289	Beauvais, in France.	Siege of Acre by Acraf, or Seraf, sultan of Egypt. The place taken in	1291	

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
22. Jean de Villiers.	1289	Beauvais, in France.	<p>The Order went to Limisso, in the kingdom of Cyprus. The grand-master convened a general chapter in that place, which was attended by a considerable number of persons.</p> <p>The kings of England and Portugal, imagining the Order abolished, sequestered its possessions.</p> <p>Pope Boniface VIII. took off the sequestration.</p> <p>The king of Cyprus insisted that the Knights Hospitallers should pay the poll-tax: the pope in vain endeavoured to procure them an exemption from it.</p> <p>The exact time of the death of this grand-master is unknown, though it is ascertained that he was still living in September</p> <p>According to Vertot, the ceremony of electing a grand-master, as observed at present, was first established during the reign of Villiers.</p>	1297	
23. Odo de Pins.	1297	Provence, in France.	<p>On a complaint made by the convent, the grand-master was summoned to appear at Rome by pope Benedict VIII. His death happened on his journey thither</p>	1300	
24. Guillaume de Villaret.	1300	Languedoc in France.	<p>He planned the conquest of Rhodes, at that time in the possession of some Greek rebels and Mahometan corsairs.</p> <p>He died in the beginning of the year 1307, and was succeeded by his brother.</p>	1307	
25. Foulques de Villaret.	1307	Languedoc in France.	<p>Conquered Rhodes on the 5th of August,.....</p>	1310	

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
25. Foulques de Villaret.	1307	Languedoc in France.	<p>He was assisted in his enterprise by a crusade, which he obtained from pope Clement V.</p> <p>The Order of Knights Templars abolished in.....</p> <p>The greatest part of their possessions became the property of the Order of Hospitallers.</p> <p>Othman, sultan of the Turks, besieged Rhodes. Amadeus, count of Savoy, compelled him to retreat from before the place.</p> <p>The knights, assembled in a chapter, deposed the grand-master, and named Maurice de Pagnac in his place.</p> <p>Villaret appealed to the court of Rome. The pope appointed Gerard de Pins vicar-general of the Order, until such time as sentence should be passed. Villaret gave in his resignation in</p> <p>and not in 1321, as is asserted by several authors. The pope bestowed on him the priory of Capone; after which he returned to Languedoc, and remained with his sister till his death, which took place in</p> <p>His body was interred in St. John's church, at Montpellier.</p>	<p>1312</p> <p>1315</p> <p>1319</p> <p>1327</p>	<p>Vertot. (<i>Error.</i>) Baudoin. (<i>Error</i>)</p>
26. Elion or He- lion de Ville- neuve.	1319	Provence, in France.	<p>Was chosen grand-master whilst at the court of pope John XXII. The brief which notified to him his election is still in existence.</p> <p>He held a chapter at Montpellier, in which he divided the body of the Order into languages. Being afterwards in France, he commanded the third French battalion, together with the Sieur de Beaujeu, at the battle of Mount Cassel, on the 23d or 24th of August</p>	<p>1328</p>	

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
26. Elion or He- lion de Ville- neuve.	1319	Provence, in France.	The knights of Rhodes took the Castle of Smyrna in.....	1344	
			The grand-master died	1346	
27. Deodato de Gozon.	1346	Languedoc in France.	Those historians are guilty of an error who state that this grand-ma- ster was one of the electors for naming Villeneuve's successor, and that he gave a vote in favour of himself. Pope Clement VIth's brief, dated the 18th of June, 1346, attests, that, so far from being anxious to obtain the grand-mastership, he was with difficulty induced to accept that dignity.	.....	Vertot. (Error.)
			The knights went to the assistance of the king of Armenia, who was attacked by the Saracens of Egypt, and forced the infidels to restore the places they had taken from that prince.	1347	
			Gozon demanded permission of the pope to abdicate his dignity, but was refused. The grand-master re- peated his request, which was at last granted; but he died, before he re- ceived the intelligence, on the 3d of December	1353	
			The history of the dragon slain by this grand-master is a mere fable, and may be ranked among the won- derful exploits of the heroes in Ari- osto and Tasso. There is still some old tapestry in existence, in which this history is represented, together with some equally romantic deeds of the archbishop Turpin.	.....	See Vertot.
28. Pierre de Cor- nillan, or de Corneillan.	1354	Pope Innocent VI. wished to force the knights of Rhodes to quit that island, and establish themselves on the continent of Europe.		

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
28. Pierre de Cornillan, or de Corneillan.	1354	.....	The grand-master died at the moment when a general chapter had been convened to discuss this subject. His reign only lasted eighteen months.	1355	
29. Roger de Pins.	1355	Languedoc in France.	It was proposed in a general chapter to attempt the conquest of the Morea, and there to fix the residence of the Order: but the death of pope Innocent, the author of the plan, put an end to the project. In a general chapter held in 1364, it was enacted, that the servants-of-arms should not be permitted to wear the cross. At the same time receivers were appointed in each priory for the responsions and taxes paid by every commandery to the Order. The grand-master died on the 28th of May	1364 1365	
30. Raymond Berenger.	1365	Dauphiné, in France.	The navy of the Order, together with that of Peter I., king of Cyprus, sailed on an expedition into Egypt, under the command of Berenger. Alexandria taken; but evacuated in a few days. A great assembly of the Order held at Avignon at which Fernandes de Heredia, the lieutenant of the grand-master, presided in his absence. The first collection of the statutes of the Order was made by this assembly. The grand-master died the same year	1374 1374	Vertot, 1343. (Error.)

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
31. Robert de Juliac.	1374	France.	Died on the 10th of August and not on the 29th of June, as affirmed by different historians.....	1376	Seb. Paoli. See Bosio. (Error.) Bertrand. (Error.)
32. Juan Fernandes de Heredia.	1376	.....	This grand-master conducted pope Gregory XI. from Avignon, by sea, to Civita Vecchia He, together with the Venetians, took possession of the city of Patras. He likewise, assisted by the same power, attempted the conquest of the Morea; but was surprised by the Turks, and taken prisoner He was ransomed by his family, and returned to Rhodes in During the schism of Urban VI. and Clement VII. the grand-master declared himself in favour of the latter; upon which Urban named Richard Caraccioli grand-master; and he was acknowledged as such by the languages of Italy and England. Caraccioli died at Rome on the 18th of March Heredia died in March	1377 1378 1381 1381 1395 1396	
33. Philibert de Naillac.	1396	France.	Entered into a league with the Christian princes against Bajazet, and fought at the head of his knights at the fatal battle of Nicopoli. He purchased the Morea from Thomas Palæologus; but so great was the hatred which subsisted between the Greeks and Latins, that the bargain could not possibly be carried into effect. Tamerlane took Smyrna by storm, notwithstanding the brave defence made by the knights	1400	

NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
33. Philibert de Naillac.	1396	France.	The grand-master was nearly ten years in Europe; and attended at the council of Pisa. Returned to Rhodes and died	1419 1421	
34. Antonio Fluvian, or De la Riviere.	1421	Spain.	Acted as mediator in making peace between Boursbai, sultan of Egypt, and Janus, king of Cyprus, his prisoner A general chapter held, at which very useful regulations were made, for maintaining an exact military discipline His death happened on the 12th of October	1426 1428 1437	
35. Jean de Lastic.	1437	France.	Abousaid-Jacmac, sultan of Egypt, sent a fleet to attack Rhodes, which appeared before the capital the 15th of September The marshal of the Order defeated this fleet. The Egyptians made a new attempt on Rhodes in August and landed eighteen thousand men; but, after a siege of forty days, the infidel general was forced to reembark his troops. Mahomet II. summoned Rhodes to acknowledge itself his vassal, and to pay a tribute accordingly. The grand-master died in According to father Antonio Paoli, the title of grand-master was	1440 1444 1454 1454	

CHRONOLOGY OF MALTA.

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
35. Jean de Lastic.	1437	France.	never <i>really</i> admitted as a necessary matter of etiquette for the chief of the knights of St. John, till the reign of Lastic.		
36. Jacques or Jobert Milly.	1454	France.	The Turks made an unsuccessful descent on the island of Lango, or Cos, the property of the Order. They landed in the island of Rhodes, where they pillaged and ravaged the country. According to Bosio, the grand-master died the 17th of August.....	1457 1461	
37. Pierre Ray- mond Za- costa.	1461	Castille, in Spain.	A general chapter held at Rome the 23d of March An eighth language was instituted in this reign, that of Castille, Leon, and Portugal. The grand-master died at Rome the 21st of February The pope gave him the title of <i>Excellentissimus</i> (<i>most excellent</i>). He was buried, by order of the pope, in St. Peter's church.	1462 1464	
38. John Baptist Ursini, or des Ursina.	1464	Rome.	Sent assistance to the Venetians, who were attacked by the Turks ... Died the 8th of June	1490 1496	

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CHRONOLOGY OF MALTA.

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NAMES of the Grand-Masters.	When elected.	Place of their Birth.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.	Dates.	Observations.
43. Philippe Vil- liers, de L'Isle Adam.	1521	France.	L'Isle Adam was in France at the time of his election. He paid the greatest attention to supplying Rhodes with provisions, ammunition, &c., the Turks threatening to besiege that place. He vainly implored assistance from different Christian princes. Pope Adrian VI. gave him nothing but prayers and blessings. The Turks appeared before Rhodes on the 26th of June: and it is at this period I commence my History of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which I continue to the time when the English took possession of Malta.	1522	

HISTORY

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

BOOK I.

FROM THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER IN MALTA, TO THE
FOUNDATION OF THE CITY LA VALETTA.

CHAPTER I.

The Order of St. John first established at Jerusalem ; afterwards in the Island of Rhodes. Rhodes besieged by Solyman. The gallant Defence made by L'Isle Adam. Number of his Troops. One of the principal Dignitaries of the Order put to Death for Treason. Surrender of the Island. Depredations of the Turks, which were almost immediately stopped, and the Arms and Escutcheons belonging to the Knights preserved. Solyman visits the Grand Master : their Conversation. The Knights embark, together with the Inhabitants, and take with them the Archives of the Order and the Relics. Their Fleet is forced, by a Tempest, to take shelter in the Island of Cyprus ; after which it arrives on the Coast of Naples, and anchors at Messina. The Pope issues a Bull to prevent the Knights quitting the Grand-Master. Trial of those Knights who had absented themselves during the Siege. The noble Manner in which a Knight named Newport,

VOL. II.

B

the Captain of an English Ship, devoted himself to the Service of the Order. The Knights driven, by the Plague, from Messina. They repair to Civita Vecchia, and settle at Viterbo.

^{1552.}
Villiers
de L'Isle Adam. THE order of St. John of Jerusalem was originally merely charitable (the knights were called Hospitallers); but it soon became military, and was established in the Holy Land, where it followed the fortunes of the Latin Christians in that country, which it was obliged to quit when they left it. The Order remained some time in Cyprus; and, after having conquered Rhodes, fixed itself in that place. The brilliant exploits performed by the knights attracted the attention of the Turks, who took up arms against them at different times*; but they were obliged to renounce their design of conquering the island. Solymán, however, was too vain of his success in Hungary, and too much irritated at having so powerful an enemy as the Order so near him, not to make another attempt: he therefore, in 1522, (June 26) landed an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men on the island, which he presently followed in person, and arrived, accompanied by still more considerable forces, which continued augmenting every day.

L'Isle Adam, who had been grand-master scarcely twelve months, was not discouraged by the appearance of this powerful armament. He placed himself at the head of six hundred knights, whose avowed principle it was, never to take account of the number

* See the Chronological Table.

of their enemies. They were supported by four thousand five hundred regular troops, together with some companies composed of citizens, all of whom determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

A traitor to the cause was discovered among the knights, and was taken up and tried by order of the council. Neither his great age, the eminent services he had formerly rendered, nor even the distinguished post he filled (being chancellor of the religion), could save him from the rigorous sentence of the law: he was therefore degraded, and delivered up, according to the statutes, to secular justice; by which he was tried; and sentence of death being pronounced against him, it was immediately executed.

After a four-months' siege, and the most glorious defence that could possibly be made, the place was no longer judged tenable; which induced the inhabitants, and particularly the Greeks, to use the most pressing instances to engage the grand-master to capitulate: but neither their complaints, their threats, nor even the advice of the council, could shake his firmness: he alone persisted in his resolution of burying himself in the ruins of the place, sooner than deliver it into the hands of the infidels. Two months more were passed in bloody and repeated combats: but the stock of gunpowder being exhausted, owing to the treason above mentioned, and Solyman himself making propositions which were thought admissible, L'Isle Adam at last complied with the entreaties and prayers of both the greater and lesser council, and consented to deliver up the place; before which, according to the confession of

the Ottoman general himself, more than eighty thousand Turks had been killed by the knights, and as many more had perished from sickness.

Four thousand Janissaries entered the city, to take possession of it ; and many of their comrades, under pretence of visiting them, pillaged it, profaned the churches, even ransacked the monuments of the grand-masters, and entered into the hospitals, and carried off the silver plate belonging to them. When Solyman was made acquainted with the disorders which had been committed, he was justly irritated, and immediately sent word to the aga of the Janissaries, that, were they continued, his head should be the forfeit. From that moment all depredations ceased, and there existed no longer any cause of complaint. It is but justice to say, that the troops belonging to a nation of all others the most adverse to the fine arts ; which had destroyed so many celebrated monuments of antiquity ; and whose generals, from a principle of religion, likewise destroyed the famous library of Alexandria ;—these very troops, I say, would have thought it sullyng the splendor of their victory, had they possessed themselves of the arms and escutcheons of the knights, which they permitted to remain entire and uninjured, and which all travellers have ever since contemplated with respect and veneration.

Sultan Solyman* being desirous of visiting himself his new conquests, and showing proper respect to the vanquished, went to

* December 25, 1522.

the palace of the grand-master, who received him with the respectful attention due to so powerful a monarch. Solyman, in a visit so extraordinary in a sultan, treated L'Isle Adam with the greatest affability; exhorting him to support with courage this reverse of fortune, and assuring him that he might embark his effects at his own leisure; for, should the time agreed upon for that purpose in the articles of capitulation be not sufficient, he would most willingly prolong it. Solyman, upon quitting L'Isle Adam, turned to his general officer, saying, "It is not without some degree of pain that I force this Christian, at his time of life, to leave his dwelling."

The small number of knights who had survived this murderous siege, together with four thousand inhabitants, embarked on board the vessels belonging to the order*. The grand-master, after having taken leave of the sultan, like a tender parent watching over his children, was the last who entered the vessel; and thus abandoned the island of Rhodes, where the order of St. John of Jerusalem had reigned with so much splendor for near two hundred years.

L'Isle Adam carried with him the archives, together with many celebrated relics, long held in profound veneration by the faithful; for the conqueror, in the bloom of youth, though termed a barbarian by the Christians, felt happy in restoring to the conquered those articles which would continually call to their remembrance the acts of valour they had performed, and the piety for which they were celebrated; and, in so doing, gave an example of moderation

* January 1, 1523.

and generosity to the generals of the most enlightened nations, which, unfortunately, has since been scarcely ever followed.

The fleet belonging to the order was overtaken by a dreadful tempest ; their vessels were dispersed, and obliged to take shelter in different ports of the island of Candia. L'Isle Adam, irritated at the blamable cowardice of the Venetians—who regarded with an eye of the most perfect indifference the fall of the holy place, which might be looked upon as the bulwark of Christianity—and also the loss of their possessions in the Levant, was eager to repair his vessels with all possible expedition, and to set sail immediately. Before he departed, he had an exact statement made of the persons who had followed the order ; which amounted to more than five thousand. Many of the inhabitants of the islands belonging to the order left their habitations, and, attaching themselves to his fortune, contributed to augment the number of the fugitives.

In this critical situation, exposed to the danger of a difficult navigation, the grand-master neglected no possible precautions which could ensure the preservation of the order. Dreading the desertion of the knights, who were now destitute of a fixed place of residence ; and fearing likewise a disunion amongst them, the event of which must be fatal, by offering a glittering bait to many princes who would be delighted to have any pretext for seizing on their immense riches ; he did not lose a moment, but sent off dispatches to the pope ; who immediately granted him a bull, by which he commanded all the knights, by the holy obedience due to him, to remain united under the authority of the grand-master ; threatening

those who proved refractory with the heaviest vengeance of the church.

L'Isle Adam determining not to abandon the inhabitants of Rhodes, the greatest part of whom were sick, was one of the last who arrived at Messina, where the ships of war belonging to his fleet had been for some time. Before he landed in Sicily, he had been forced to touch at Gallipoli, a town in the kingdom of Naples, situated in the gulf of Otranto. The grand-master, upon landing on this hospitable island*, was received in the most flattering manner; which indeed his conduct truly merited. In order to prove himself still more worthy, he immediately—almost insensible to the honours paid him—established an hospital, not only in the palace prepared for his reception, but in the neighbouring houses; where, assisted by all the other knights, he himself attended the wounded. Imagination cannot paint a more affecting spectacle than these men, once so formidable in arms, animated alone by the spirit of charity, employed in the meanest offices—carrying broth to the sick, making their beds, and entirely occupied in contributing to their relief. Such was the fate of Sicily, that it was destined, more than two hundred years afterwards, again to see the knights of St. John, and to admire their charitable virtues in the exertions which they made for the relief of the unfortunate objects who escaped the dreadful catastrophe occasioned by the earthquake in 1783.

* Towards the end of April.

No sooner were the duties of that charity, so conformable to the first institution of the order, once fulfilled, than they proceeded to make a strict inquisition into the conduct of those who had been sent to procure relief for Rhodes. All who were cited before the full council assembled upon this occasion, presented themselves at it with a confidence which innocence and truth alone could inspire; and it was sufficiently proved, that, during the last two months of the siege, the wind had been so obstinately contrary, and the sea so dreadfully rough, that no one was hardy enough to set sail. It was a known fact, that a knight named Newport, of the language of England, an old naval officer, thinking (if I may so express myself) to subdue the raging waves by his superior skill, embarked at that time, and was thrown back again by the violence of the wind upon the point of Cape Desert; where the vessel, with all its cargo, was lost.

The tribunal having found no person guilty, “*God for ever be praised!*” exclaimed L’Isle Adam, “*who, in our common misfortune, has had the goodness to prove to me, that the loss of Rhodes could not be attributed to the negligence of any of my Order!*”

The plague visiting Messina, forced the order to quit that city; and they breathed a purer air for some time upon the coast of the kingdom of Naples. After making a short stay at Bayes and the environs of Cumes, the knights re-embarked, and arrived at Civita Vecchia.

CHAP. II.

The Grand-Master sets off for Rome : his Reception there. It is proposed to give up the Islands of Malta and Goza to the Order. Difficulties which occur. The Grand-Master conducts the Duchess of Alençon into Spain, and acts as Mediator between the Emperor Charles the Fifth and Francis the First King of France. L'Isle Adam's well-judged Answer to the Emperor. The Rights and Privileges of the Order are acknowledged in Portugal. The Grand-Master goes to England, where he is honourably received by Henry the Eighth, who likewise acknowledges the Privileges and Immunities of the Order. The King and Queen of England make rich Presents to the Grand-Master.

L'ISLE ADAM immediately determined to visit Rome, where his reception from the pope was particularly distinguished and flattering: he, however, only saw him once. After the death of Adrian, the guard of the conclave was entrusted to the grand-master and knights, who were not a little pleased with the election of Clement VII., he being the first of their order who had ever been raised to the dignity of pope. He afterwards obtained permission to settle at Viterbo; his navy remaining at Civita Vecchia. The different plans which were proposed to him, for forming an establishment, appeared either too difficult to be carried into execution, or contained clauses perfectly inadmissible. The first wish of the grand-master was the re-conquest of Rhodes; and the intelligence he contrived to receive from that place, promised, to all appearance, an

easy victory : but the scheme was discovered ; and the enterprise, being thus rendered impracticable, was relinquished. He was therefore at last obliged to listen to an offer made by the emperor's minister, who consented to give up the islands of Malta and Goza to the order, adding likewise the city of Tripoli, with the territories thereunto belonging. But a condition was annexed to this offer which could not possibly subsist ; and which, it was hoped, might be dispensed with in the course of time :—it was required, that the whole body of the religious should take the oath of fidelity to the emperor. This could never be conformable with the institution of an order, the independence of which constituted its utility ; since to that independence alone was owing their being entirely employed in defending equally all Christians, of whatsoever description, against the infidels ; for they never took a part in any war which subsisted between Christian princes, nor in the smallest degree favoured one party to the disadvantage of the other.

Whilst they waited in expectation of being able to soften the terms upon which this donation was to be granted, eight commissaries were sent to visit the new possessions destined for the order* ; and, in the interim, the regent of France proposed to the grand-master to escort, in his galleys, the duchess of Alençon into Spain, whither she was going to visit her brother, Francis I., at that time prisoner to Charles V. L'Isle Adam set sail immediately, and proceeded quickly to Marseilles, from whence he conducted the

* June 25, 1525.

princess into Spain, and accompanied her himself to Madrid. The grand-master, in the midst of a court ever famous for its politics, proved himself as able a negotiator as he had formerly been deemed a great warrior: he had the honour of being admitted mediator between two powerful monarchs, whose interests were extremely difficult to conciliate, and to plead the cause of a noble-minded, frank, and generous king, against a haughty, interested, dissembling prince, who had the advantage of having his enemy in his power.

The duchess of Alençon employed every attractive charm of the wit she so eminently possessed, to soften the harsh and obstinate disposition of the emperor; but all in vain: and knowing it was designed to make her prisoner, should she exceed the time limited in her passport, she found herself obliged to leave Spain as soon as possible. Orders had been issued to detain her on the frontiers; but being informed of the plan, she eluded the pursuit.

The grand-master remained sole mediator in the cause. What a situation was his! Deprived of his own state, he found himself, on one side, under the necessity of asking the emperor to grant him a new one; and, on the other, to solicit the liberty of a powerful monarch, with permission to return to his dominions. His endeavours were, however, crowned with success, and his difficulties happily surmounted. He engaged the two princes to agree to a treaty, and consent to a meeting. He also mediated between them in an affair of, indeed, far less importance, but which required much delicacy. Charles V. and Francis I. going out together, the emperor gave precedence to the king of France, which that prince re-

fused to accept. The grand-master was called upon to decide, who immediately answered: "I pray God that no dispute of a more important nature may ever happen between your majesties." And, addressing himself to the king of France, he added: "Sire, no person can deny that the emperor is the first of Christian princes; but, being in his own dominions—nay, even in his own palace, I am of opinion you cannot refuse the marks of respect which he thinks due to the greatest prince in Europe." The emperor was pleased with his reply; and permitted him to depart, with the assurance that he would make the pope arbitrator in the infeoffment of Malta.

L'Isle Adam terminated a very important affair with Portugal, before he quitted Spain. The king, after the capture of Rhodes, thought he might either seize upon the possessions of the religion, or dispose of them to the prejudice of the statutes of the order: but upon the just representations made to the sovereign, of the seizure of those riches which had ever been employed to protect the Christian standard against the insults of the infidels, he solemnly promised not to molest the knights in the enjoyment of their commanderies. They likewise obtained a confirmation of all the rights and privileges granted to the order by the kings of Portugal, his predecessors.

Henry VIII.*, of England, made use of the same pretext as

* The comte d'Antraigues has communicated to me a history he has written of this monarch, which is so interesting a performance, that it is to be hoped it will one day be made public.

the king of Portugal, and formed the design of annexing the commanderies to his domains; as if the loss of Rhodes were to be followed by the total extinction of the order. When this intelligence reached L'Isle Adam, he was in France; whence he immediately sent an embassy to the court of London, which was received very coldly by a haughty prince, who thought he was entitled to the same marks of respect from the grand-master which had been shown to the neighbouring monarchs. L'Isle Adam, unmindful of his advanced time of life, braving the severity of the season (it being the month of February), set out for England. This proof of the venerable old man's zeal for the order affected Henry, and stifled all emotions of resentment in his bosom; he therefore received the grand-master in the most splendid and honourable manner, and sent some of the first noblemen of his court to meet him. Upon his arrival in the palace, Henry accosted him most graciously; and insisted upon his accepting of a superb apartment prepared for the occasion, where he was served with a magnificence suitable to his rank, and to the esteem felt by the king for so illustrious a guest.

Henry, who knew how to appreciate brilliant actions and military fame, frequently conversed upon the siege of Rhodes, and its noble defence. L'Isle Adam communicated to him the offer made by Charles V., of the island of Malta, and Tripoli in Africa; acquainting him, at the same time, with the conditions annexed to it, which were incompatible with the independence of the order; it being impossible for the knights to acknowledge, as

sovereign, any particular prince, without rendering themselves suspected by all others. Henry, after divers conferences, consented to give twenty thousand crowns ; which he afterwards paid in artillery and small-arms. L'Isle Adam also obtained the confirmation of all the privileges of his order ; which was indeed the principal object of his journey.

When L'Isle Adam had taken leave of the king, in order to return to Italy, Henry sent him, in his own name, and in that of the queen, a golden bason and ewer, enriched with precious stones, which were afterwards placed in the treasury, and constitute one of its most magnificent ornaments.

C H A P. III.

The Report of the Commissioners concerning the Situation of Malta, Goza, and Tripoli in Africa. Grant of the Emperor to the Order. Voyage of the Knights to Malta; their Reception. Miserable Situation of Malta and its Dependencies. Improvements soon made by the Knights. Troubles in Malta. The Knights in Arms against each other. Exemplary Punishment executed on the Offenders. Henry VIII. abolishes the Order in his Dominions. Death of L'Isle Adam. The English Knights provided for most generously. Mary, Queen of England, restores their Property: of which they are afterwards for ever deprived under the Reign of her Sister Elizabeth. The Language of England continues to be constantly respected by the Order.

THE report of the commissioners sent to inquire into the state of Malta, Goza, and Tripoli, was read in full council, and contained the following account:—That the island of Malta was merely a rock of a soft sand-stone, called tufa, about six or seven leagues long, and three or four broad: that the surface of the rock was scarcely covered with more than three or four feet of earth, which was likewise stony, and very unfit to grow corn and other grain; though it produced abundance of figs, melons, and different fruits: that the principal trade of the island consisted in honey, cotton, and cummin, which the inhabitants exchanged for grain: that, except a few springs in the middle of the island, there was no running water, nor even wells; the want of which the inhabitants supplied by

cisterns: that wood was so scarce as to be sold by the pound; which forced them either to use cow-dung dried in the sun, or wild thistles, for dressing food: that the capital of the country, named *Citta Notabile*, was situated upon a rising ground in the centre of the island: that the greatest part of the houses were uninhabited; and the circumference not more than one thousand three hundred and three paces: that the miserable walls which surrounded it were open thirty paces in breadth: that there were neither ports, bays, nor coves, on the western coast of the island: that the shore in that part was full of great rocks and shoals; but that on the opposite coast there were many points or capes, with indentures in the form of bays or coves, in which ships might anchor: that there were two spacious and very good ports in the island, capable of receiving the largest fleet; but with no other defence than a small castle, named St. Angelo, which was partly in ruins—its whole artillery consisting of one small cannon, two falcons, and a few iron mortars: that the island contained about twelve thousand inhabitants, of both sexes; the greatest part of whom were poor and miserable, owing to the barrenness of the soil, and the frequent descents of corsairs, who, without the smallest sentiment of compassion, carried off all the unfortunate Maltese who happened to fall into their hands;—in a word, that a residence in Malta appeared extremely disagreeable—indeed, almost insupportable—particularly in summer.

As to the island of Goza, called by the inhabitants *Gaudisch*, the commissioners reported, that it was only divided from Malta by

a narrow channel, named Freo, about a league and a half wide, in the midst of which were situated little islands or rocks, called Cumin and Cuminot: that Goza was eight leagues in circumference, three long, and one and a half broad: that they had seen no port of any kind in the island; which was so surrounded with shoals and craggy rocks, that the approach was extremely difficult;—the soil, however, appeared to be very fertile; and it contained about five thousand inhabitants, including men, women, and children, who were dispersed in different villages: that the people of the island, in order to secure themselves from corsairs, had erected a castle upon a mountain, which appeared badly fortified, and of very little importance; but, weak as it was, the commissioners judged it would not be prudent in the council to accept the island of Malta separately from that of Goza, since the vicinity of the latter would in that case be dangerous, as it might, at some future period, serve as a retreat for their enemies. Besides this relation, the commissioners presented a variety of private notes, made by the jurats of Malta and Goza, which contained very particular accounts of every thing worthy of notice, together with a plan of Malta, on which they had marked, in the most exact manner, many gulfs or bays, serving generally as retreats for fishermen, and, indeed, sometimes for corsairs. They therefore thought, so great a number of ports being extremely convenient for the armaments of the order, that the offers of the emperor ought not to be rejected, provided he did not insist upon the order's taking up arms against his own particular enemies.

The commissioners were of a different opinion respecting the city and castle of Tripoli; and represented to the council, that they were situate upon the coast of Barbary, eighty leagues from Malta, without any fortifications; which, indeed, it would be almost impossible to erect upon a foundation of sand, and subject to inundation: that the ditches were small, and very shallow; and that the port and castle were commanded by a neighbouring mountain: that the city was surrounded by the territories of the king of Tunis, who would never permit Christians to remain long unmolested: that corn was still more scarce than at Malta; the soil being very barren, and producing nothing but dates. From all these circumstances they concluded, that if the order took upon itself the defence of this place, it would only expose the lives of those knights who should be sent thither. As to the sentiments of the inhabitants upon this occasion, they did not at first appear very favourable: for the Maltese, during the century which preceded the infeoffment of their island to the knights, had obtained great privileges from the kings of Arragon, their sovereigns at that time; and likewise a solemn promise, that they should never more be detached from their government: they were, therefore, greatly afflicted upon first hearing that Charles V., paying no attention to the assurance given them by his predecessors, intended to yield them up to a foreign power. Neither the strongest remonstrances nor the greatest opposition could engage the emperor to change his resolution. He, however, succeeded at last in consoling them, and that in a manner analogous to their interest and to their ideas of religion; for he

convinced them, that their island, once submitted to the government of knights who consecrated themselves entirely to the defence of the faith, would infallibly become the bulwark of Christendom. Such a motive made the most lively impression upon the inhabitants, who, as it will presently appear, received the order with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

We come now to show in what manner Charles V.* consented to cede Malta and its dependencies. He granted for ever, as well for himself as his heirs and successors, to the right reverend the grand-master of the said order and religion of St. John, an unlimited title, in fee-simple, to all the castles, fortresses, and isles, of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza; to have and to hold by the most ample tenure; together with power over the lives and fortunes of their inhabitants; and that without appeal to any lord paramount whatsoever. He at the same time absolved them from their oath of allegiance to him; empowering them to transfer it to their new masters, and abdicating all feudal rights heretofore vested in the imperial crown.

The only conditions on which he made this cession were, 1st, That the order should swear, never to suffer its new subjects to take up arms against the king of Sicily and his states. 2dly, An annual homage of a falcon to the said king, or his viceroy. 3dly, A renunciation on their part, to the king, of the nomination to the bishopric of Malta. The presentation to that dignity to be made from among three of their order, of which one should be a Sicilian

* See Appendix (No.V.) the Act of donation, by Charles V., of Malta, Goza, and Tripoli, with the oath taken by the viceroy of Sicily.

subject. 4thly, A promise, that the admiral, or his lieutenant, should be chosen from the language of Italy ; as well as that those on whom the command of squadrons might devolve, should be persons in whom the king of Sicily could confide. 5thly, The absolute necessity of the king's consent to the transfer of the isle of Malta to any other power. In short, it was agreed, that commissioners should be appointed to settle, in an amicable way, the indemnities due to those individuals who possessed fiefs in Malta, in consequence of former grants from the king, and which the order might wish to take into its own hands.

The grand-master and the council having received the diploma of the grant, examined it, and accepted the clauses. Two ambassadors were immediately sent to the viceroy of Sicily, to whom they took the oath of fidelity ; and received the act of investiture from his hands, in the name of the emperor. They then proceeded to Malta, accompanied by six commissioners named by the viceroy, who, in consequence of the power given them by the grand-master and the council, solemnly swore, in their name, to preserve for the inhabitants of these islands their rights, customs, and privileges.

The Maltese, and their neighbours in Goza, received the ambassadors with transports of joy ; which were increased to the highest degree when they learned that their new sovereign intended to reside amongst them ; as they expected, from his presence and favour, a degree of happiness of which they had long been hopeless.

The university, as a proof of its satisfaction upon this occasion, gave up, in favour of the order, the thirty thousand florins with

which it had discharged a debt incurred by king Alphonso and the Nava family, to whom the king of Spain, in reward of its faithful services, had given the castellany (government of the castle) of St. Angelo. The knights were put in possession of this fort, upon condition only of paying a pension for life to Alvarez de Nava, the head of that family.

A short time afterwards, the grand-master sent two galleys and a galleon, with a sufficient number of knights, to Tripoli, in Africa, in order to take possession of that ill-conditioned place; which the emperor absolutely insisted the knights should undertake to defend. Nothing now was wanting for the entire establishment of the order in Malta, but the landing of the grand-master and council on that island. The people from Rhodes, who followed the fortunes of the knights of St. John, were the first who embarked in five galleys, two large caravels, and other transports. The effects and titles of the order were shipped at the same time, together with goods, provisions, and ammunition. Immediately upon the arrival of L'Isle Adam*, the order gave into his hands, in quality of their chief, all monarchical power; after which he took possession of the sovereignty of the island. He was placed under a canopy, and carried by the jurats into the capital of the island, the gates of which were shut: but having sworn, upon his cross, to preserve the privileges of the inhabitants, the keys were presented to him; and he made his entry into the *Citta Notabile* amidst the acclamations

* October 26, 1530.

of the people. The same ceremony and oath take place at the election of every grand-master.

Every thing in Malta wore a different aspect when governed by the order. The most sumptuous edifices were shortly erected, both as places of worship, and as hospitals for the relief of the poor and sick of every country. The knights, worthy the admiration of all beholders, were constantly seen either praying with their accustomed fervour to the true God of battles, or visiting the infirmaries, where they bestowed the same care and attention on the unfortunate, which had formerly been paid them by the original hospitallers.

A regular and magnificent city was built upon a rough and barren rock. Neat villages adorned the island; whilst superb country-houses, erected in different parts, announced the flourishing state of Malta. The armaments of the order became every day more powerful; so that the corsairs were not only deterred from approaching the coasts of Malta and Goza, but were apprehensive for the safety of their own. The banners of St. John shone conspicuous in the front of the battle, during every war betwixt the Christian princes and the infidels. Thrice, in concert with the Spanish fleet, it was displayed before Algiers, in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century*, and always with equal glory. Twice the squadrons of the order accompanied those of France to chastise Tunis; and twice, likewise, its frigates were dispatched to

* In 1775, 1782, and 1783.

assist his imperial majesty against the Turks. No one was more sensible than Charles V., how truly serviceable the knights were to the neighbouring powers. In his first expedition to Africa, the gates of Tunis were thrown open to him by one of these knights; and in the second, a violent tempest having almost entirely destroyed and dispersed the Spanish fleet, the navy of Malta, which alone kept its post upon the raging waves, saved the remains of his army, which had fruitlessly endeavoured to rejoin their vessels upon a coast covered on all sides with the wrecks of the fleet. At the battle of Lepanto, three of the galleys belonging to the order, conformably to their right of pre-eminence, were placed in the post of honour, and maintained themselves in it in a manner worthy their ancient reputation. Every place, indeed, taken from the Venetians by the Turks, can witness the generous efforts made by the knights in its defence; who, during the long war in Candia, never failed to send squadrons thither every year. The same navy was not merely satisfied with spreading terror amongst the infidels, but was continually employed in bestowing comfort on the Christians. An earthquake having overthrown the city of Augusta, and even reached Malta, which it damaged considerably, the order, insensible to its own situation, immediately dispatched its galleys with relief to the unfortunate inhabitants. In 1783, Messina and Reggio, together with the whole coast of Calabria, suffered the same calamity, and in so terrible a manner as to be almost unparalleled in the annals of history. These two cities presented a dreadful spectacle, and were reduced to merely a heap of ruins: their miserable inhabitants,

scattered through the fields, were deprived of shelter, and even the common necessities of food, &c. No sooner was the order of Malta informed of this disaster, than galleys were instantly sent, laden with every article that could possibly contribute to the relief of the sufferers, and soften the horror of their situation.

The only fortress in the island, formerly defended only by one cannon and two falcons, soon became surrounded by batteries; and Malta was quickly considered as the strongest place in Christendom. Twenty-one years after the knights arrived in that island, the famous corsair Dragut was obliged to renounce his design of conquering it; and, in fifteen more, the whole united Ottoman force miscarried in the same attempt before Malta, which resisted with all its strength, but which owed its safety still more to its brave defenders, than to the excellence of its fortifications. Indeed, the valour for which the knights of St. John were ever so renowned, still existed in its original purity: we may even venture to say, that the order never ceased to possess it; and if, for a moment, this sacred fire has seemed extinguished in the breast of some few of its members, be assured, it will shine out afresh, and blaze forth with double lustre, when purified from the effects of its recent misfortunes.—*Errare humanum est.*

Notwithstanding the members of the order were constantly employed in making the necessary arrangements for establishing themselves in Malta, the galleys still continued their excursions. They attempted to surprise the city of Modon; and succeeded in pillaging it, and carrying off immense riches. They likewise took a

great number of slaves, amongst whom were eight hundred women and girls*.

L'Isle Adam having ensured the safety of his new possessions, and regulated the finances in the exactest manner—having built a church and an infirmary, and provided for those Rhodian families which followed the order, by which they were constantly protected—had no further ambition, than peaceably to end a life passed in continual agitations, amidst the grateful benedictions of his people: but it was decreed that this hero should go through still severer trials; and that the greatest of his misfortunes should be reserved to embitter his last moments.

Disputes arose between the knights of the different languages, which ended by their taking up arms against each other; and the most precious blood in Christendom was shed by Christian hands. A false point of honour stifled every idea of the true; and, for the first time, the knights engaged in a most bloody war. These disorders being at last suppressed, the severity of the law took its course: twelve knights were banished Malta, and many others thrown into the sea. Just as was their punishment, L'Isle Adam felt equally grieved at the offence and the chastisement of the offenders.

* A young Turkish woman, of exquisite beauty, became the property of the viscount de Cicala, who married her; and she bore him a son, named Scipio Cicala. This young man, after having met with various adventures, went to Constantinople, where he turned Mahometan, and, by his great valour, became commander of the Turkish army; in which capacity he sufficiently revenged the cause of the Turks for the sacking Modon.

To complete the miseries of this venerable old man, Henry VIII. abolished the order in his dominions*. This prince began by injustice, and ended in cruelty. From sectary he became persecutor; and in order to commit crimes with impunity, he no longer acknowledged the head of the church; who could never be induced to believe, that Christian morality could conform to the caprices of mankind, and become subservient to their passions. Henry, therefore, declared himself supreme chief of his new religion, which he insisted upon all his subjects embracing: and though this religion appeared founded upon principles of tolerance and independence, he caused scaffolds to be erected, and prisons to be opened. All those who, though contented as subjects to submit to the laws of the land, thought themselves entitled to liberty of conscience, underwent the most cruel persecutions. Amongst the knights of Malta whose blood flowed for the faith, we feel a melancholy pleasure in tracing the following names, transmitted to us by history, viz.: Ingley, Adrian Forrest, Adrian Fortescu, and Marmaduke Bohus, who, refusing to renounce the belief of their ancestors, perished by the axe of the executioner. Thomas Mytton and Edward Waldegrave, imprisoned in a horrible dungeon, chose rather to die honourably in their confinement, than to purchase their liberty by the crime of perjury. Richard and James Bell, John Noel, &c. likewise preferred the true and solid consolations christianity affords to those who suffer in its cause, to the deceitful

* 1534.

and transitory pleasures of a court; they therefore passed the remainder of their days in an honourable exile. Many knights having with difficulty escaped from Henry's pursuit, arrived in Malta without any means for their future subsistence. The grand-master received them with a parent's affection; ensured them a proper provision, and endeavoured to comfort them under their misfortunes. Alas! who more than himself was in need of consolation?

Thus, in the midst of such cruel afflictions, died L'Isle Adam; upon whose tomb were engraved the following simple words, so truly expressive of the events of his life:

"Hic jacet Virtus victrix Fortunæ."*

"Here reposes Virtue triumphant over Misfortune."

Upon the death of L'Isle Adam, care was taken to make a permanent provision for the English knights in the principal place of residence of the order. True charity never repulses the sons of misfortune: these knights, therefore, remained amongst their brethren, by whom they were always pitied and relieved, beloved and respected. The first hospitallers, as they very well remem-

* The family of L'Isle Adam continued to subsist in France; but was reduced to a state of such indigence, that, towards the end of the seventeenth century, a gentleman of that name was under the necessity of driving carts loaded with stones, in the neighbourhood of Troye in Champagne, in order to support his father. See *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*.

bered, possessed no property attached to any particular language, but exercised their charity indifferently to all—relieving equally the wants of the hospitallers, and those of the sick and poor.

The English knights, stripped as they were of their possessions, preserved all the dignities belonging to the language. Their brethren would have thought it derogatory to their own honour, had they endeavoured to deprive them of these advantages: indeed, so much did they respect their misfortunes, that they not only permitted the name of the language of England to remain; but not one of the other languages would have dared to usurp the dignity of grand *turcopolier*, which had ever been attached to it. The pope, a long time afterwards, gave the grand-master permission to appoint to that post. The language of England was constantly represented in the council, and in the election of a grand-master; and the most ancient brother of the order was always *pillier* for that language. Two centuries afterwards, a new language was formed, styled the *Anglo-Bavarian*; the knights of St. John not choosing to let sink in oblivion a name so long cherished by the religion. Indeed, the language of England still preserved its post at the siege of Malta, where it was placed on the mole on the Burgh side, assisted by those of Castille and Germany.

The English, who, before the abolition of their order by Henry, had places in the council, or were in the land or sea service, continued to act in the same capacity, and were allowed to vote at the election of a grand-master: those, likewise, who, constant in the faith of their ancestors, were afterwards desirous of entering into the

order, were received, and held equally capable with the other knights of obtaining commanderies in the priories into which they had been admitted.

Under the government of the successors of L'Isle Adam, we again see English knights appear upon the scene; but, alas! in a very different manner. One, in a transport of jealous fury, assassinated his mistress; for which, according to custom, he was delivered up to the common law, tried, and sentenced to be taken one mile from the port, put into a sack, and thrown alive into the sea: whilst another, an English commander, of the name of Upton, one of the bravest knights in the order, placed himself at the head of thirty knights, together with four hundred of the inhabitants, and thus opposed the disembarking of the infidels upon the first descent of Dragut on the island, which happened during the grand-mastership of John d'Omedes. This valiant knight lost his life in consequence of the wounds he received in the action.

Towards the conclusion of the same grand-mastership, Mary mounted the throne of England, and, being a Roman catholic, restored the wealth of the order, which had been annexed to the crown by her father, to its original possessors. This fortunate intelligence was carried to Malta by captain Hosmadon; and we need not say how much the whole order, and particularly the English knights, were delighted by this intelligence. To show their gratitude to the queen, the grand-master and the council bestowed the priory of St. John of London upon sir Richard Seeley, who had, indeed, greatly contributed to this restitution.

This priory, independent of the considerable revenue attached to it, enjoyed a very great privilege—that of sitting in the English parliament as the first baron of the kingdom. The consent of this assembly, in which the liberties and interests of the nation frequently triumph over the majesty of the throne, was necessary for the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion. Cardinal Pole was invested with the dignity and power of legate from the pope*. He abolished all schisms, but without daring to insist either upon penances or the restitution of church-lands. It was necessary, in the beginning, to pardon faults which it would have been dangerous to punish: he was, therefore, obliged to remain satisfied with the proud submission of the English, who received the favour of the holy see in a manner which sufficiently showed they had not sought to obtain it: indeed, the power of the pope was, very shortly after, entirely annihilated in England, and the possessions of the knights of St. John once more wrested from them.

If upon this occasion the church had reason to regret its separation from so powerful a nation, the order had equal cause for affliction, in being deprived of its illustrious nobility.

* Julius III.

CHAP. IV.

Peter Dupont appointed Grand-Master. Expedition of Charles V. into Africa. Acts of Valour performed by the Knights; one of whom presents the Keys of Tunis to the Emperor. Didier de St. Jaille succeeds Peter Dupont. A Corsair, surnamed Chasse-Diable (Drive-Devil), is repulsed from before Tripoli. John d'Omedes Grand-Master. An unfortunate Expedition to Algiers. Services rendered by the Knights and their Navy. Memorable Action by two Maltese Gallies. Capture of Africa; in which the Knights had a principal Share. Descent of the Turks in the Island of Malta. They present themselves before the old City. Their Re-embarkation. They seize upon Goza, owing to the Cowardice of the Governor. The Punishment he received.

CHARLES V., as has been already observed, had soon reason to congratulate himself on the concessions he had made to the order. Some celebrated corsairs, having long been thieves and pirates, became, by degrees, the conquering party. The Barbarossas likewise had possessed themselves of some powerful states on the coasts of Africa; which, joined to continual prizes taken from the Spaniards, and their frequent descents upon the coasts of Italy, induced the emperor to declare war, and to communicate his determination to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Peter Dupont, by birth a Piedmontese, who succeeded L'Isle Adam, sent out a squadron with land forces to assist the emperor; who, thus supported, obtained a complete victory over Barbarossa.

This success induced him to attack Tunis, which, he very well knew, contained the treasures of this famous corsair. On approaching the city, he was greatly surprised to perceive a knight of Malta, named Simeoni, coming to meet him, accompanied by six thousand brave Christians, who, with himself, had broken their chains, and taken possession of Tunis. Charles flew to embrace him, saying: "Courteous knight, blessed forever be the resolute valour which has enabled you to break your chains, to facilitate my victory, and to increase the glory of your order!"

Didier de St. Jaille, who had greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Rhodes, succeeded Peter Dupont* (1535). During his mastership, *Chasse-Diable* (Drive-Devil), a victorious corsair, who rivalled Barbarossa in courage, and surpassed him in ferocity, attacked Tripoli; but having been wounded in the assault, whilst acting the part of a valiant leader, the town escaped for a short time falling into the hands of the infidels; for the corsair's troops, perceiving the misfortune which had befallen their chief, lost all courage, and abandoned the place, leaving behind them, under the wall of the fortress, the bodies of many of their comrades who had been killed in the action†.

* Died November 12, 1535.

† During his reign, the chevalier de Bourbon, grand-prior of France, ordered a hanging of tapestry to be made, on which were represented the portraits of all the grand-masters, taken from excellent original paintings brought from Rhodes. The ground of this magnificent furniture was of silk embossed with gold: and when it was finished, he sent it to Malta, to be placed in the principal church of the island.●
—Bosio, book viii. Vertot, book x.

On the death of Didier de St. Jailles*, John d'Omedes was elected grand-master (1536) by the Spanish faction, which, owing to the protection granted by Charles V. to the order, began to show an inclination to take the lead in the convent. The troubles this occasioned during the mastership of Omedes, and afterwards, during that of Cassiere, will presently be perceived; so true it is (and it cannot be too often repeated), that on the independence of the order must ever rest the power of protecting the Christian cause.

The emperor having reason to complain of the government of Algiers, fitted out a most formidable armament, with an intention, as it appeared, entirely to extirpate the infidels from the coasts of Barbary. He, in consequence of this resolution, demanded from Malta all possible assistance. The whole of the knights offered themselves to join the expedition; but only four hundred were permitted to embark, each of whom was accompanied by two servants in arms. In order to appear more conspicuous to their enemies, they wore upon the breast a covering of crimson damask or velvet, upon which shone a white cross. The first sally made by the garrison of Algiers, gave them an opportunity of signalling themselves in the most valiant manner: it may, indeed, be said, with truth, that their exertions saved a great part of the Christian army from being cut to pieces. The advanced posts had been surprised—the infidels were proceeding towards the emperor's quarters, when

* Died at Montpellier, September 26.

the arrival of two Spanish regiments, together with the knights of Malta, happily stopped their progress. Villegagnon, a French knight, distinguished himself most eminently*. With the natural impetuosity of his nation, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, and was wounded in the left arm by a Moorish cavalier; but having parried, with his right hand, a second stroke of a lance from the same cavalier, he sprang upon the horse of his assailant, and stabbed him to the heart. Savignac, likewise a Frenchman, carrying the standard of Malta, pursued the infidels to the very gates of Algiers, into which he struck his poignard, as a proof of the courageous part he had taken in the attack.

The order lost seventy-five knights in the two first sallies; and they were preparing to engage in fresh combats, when a most dreadful tempest arose. The ships which conveyed the provisions were, in the space of half an hour, either dispersed or destroyed. Fifteen galleys and eighty-six other vessels perished. Nothing could possibly equal the horrors of the scene upon the shore, which shortly appeared covered with pieces of wreck and dead bodies. The soldiers and sailors who were able to swim, perished on the coast; for the Moors and Arabs wandering in the fields, repaired to the sea-side, and massacred, without the smallest sentiments of compassion, all those who attempted to land. On an occasion so memorably disastrous, the Maltese navy rose to the highest pitch of glory. The galleys of the order alone resisted the fury of the

* See *La Relation du Siege d'Algiers, adressée au Pape Paul III. par le Secrétaire de son Legat.*

waves ; and when Charles V. was told that some vessels appeared still to live at sea, he exclaimed, " They must, indeed, be Maltese galleys which can outride such a tempest ! " The high opinion he had formed of this fleet was fully justified ; for the standard of the order was soon in sight.

The sailors belonging to a very old galley endeavoured to sink it, which the commander opposed with the greatest firmness ; and on their representing to him, that the vessel having been employed twenty years, the loss would be very trifling, he drew his sword, and told them : " This galley was entrusted to me by the order, and the first person who attempts to destroy it shall receive his death from my hands ; for I will either save the vessel or perish upon the spot." The heroism and firmness of the commander inspired the crew with courage—every one assisted at the pumps—and their attempts to save the galley were at last crowned with success. The order had nearly lost another galley by a misfortune which could only have been remedied by an act of the greatest intrepidity. The rudder being carried away, the vessel drifted with the waves, and was nearly thrown upon a rock, where it infallibly must have gone to pieces, had not two hardy sailors, stripped, and lashed together with ropes, suffered themselves to be lowered down ; where, without tools, employing their hands alone, they succeeded in shipping a fresh one, which fortunately had been provided in case of such accident.

In this disastrous retreat made by the Christian army, the knights of Malta, though most of them had been wounded in the

action, still maintained, as usual, the post of honour. They composed the rear-guard, embarked the last, and were fiercely pursued by the Moorish cavalry.

The coasts of Africa were destined soon to receive a second visit from the knights of Malta, who conducted themselves in the same glorious manner, and fortunately with more success.

Africa, a powerful city, with a considerable fortress, where the celebrated corsair Dragut, who reigned over a great extent of country, kept his principal forces, was besieged by the Christians*. The knights of Malta, for a great length of time, had possessed the exclusive privilege of heading all attacks: but the emperor's troops, commanded by the son of the viceroy of Naples, and likewise by the viceroy of Sicily, determined to have the sole honour of taking the place by assault. They therefore commenced the attack without acquainting the knights with their intention: but they were repulsed with great loss, which would have been still more considerable, had not the Maltese troops flown to their relief.

The bailiff de la Sangle, who some time afterwards was chosen grand-master, commanded upon this occasion. Though exposed to all the dangers of war, he regarded hospitality as his first duty; and contrived a kind of hospital and infirmary in his tents, where the sick and wounded were received and properly treated. The other knights followed his example:—they attended the sick in turns; and were admired throughout the army, not only for their

* 1550.

courage, but their charity. The town was assaulted a second time: when the commander Giou first mounted the breach, planted the colours of the order upon it, and was killed by a shot from the enemy. He was immediately replaced by the commander de Cossier, who, during the whole action, though exposed to a constant fire, and enveloped in a cloud of arrows from the cross-bows, still held exalted the banner of St. John. At the very moment when they despaired of carrying the place, and the Imperial troops appeared to give way, the commander de Gimeran forced his passage into the city, which was immediately taken and sacked. Dragut's soldiers, fearing the reproaches of their leader more than death, rushed upon the swords of the Christians, and, refusing to ask for quarter, were all cut to pieces.

In this manner was taken the strongest city at that time existing on the African coast. The emperor, desirous of preserving the memory of the warriors killed upon the ramparts, ordered, upon quitting the place, their remains to be transported into Sicily, and deposited in the cathedral at Montreal; where they arrived in two separate cases:—and the viceroy erected a mausoleum, upon which he engraved the following epitaph—“ Though the hand of Death has terminated the existence of those whose ashes are entombed under this marble, the remembrance of their rare valour can never be effaced. By faith these heroes have obtained a seat in heaven; and their courage has ensured their everlasting glory on earth; so that the blood which issued from their wounds, has, for one transitory life, procured them durable immortality !”

Dragut, enraged at the loss of Africa, together with his treasures and slaves contained in it, which he attributed principally to the knights of St. John, determined upon revenge: he therefore presently appeared before Malta with a formidable fleet. Such were the obstinacy and avarice of the grand-master, that the knights were in a most destitute state; notwithstanding which, they never forgot what they owed to themselves and to the order. At no time had they appeared more resolute: and their very aspect struck their enemies with awe. Dragut commanded the fleet under Sinam, Solyman's general; who, upon viewing the situation and batteries of fort St. Angelo, refused to attack it, though ardently pressed by Dragut to risk the assault.

The Ottoman troops proceeded to the coast near the Old City, which was not only undefended, but filled with miserable peasants, crowded one upon another, whose despairing state gave very little reason to expect much from their assistance. They however applied to Omedes for relief; who refused them, and at the same time declared, that the whole armed forces of the order were not more than sufficient to ensure his own safety. The person charged with this commission, cruelly hurt at being forced to deliver so severe an answer to the commandant of the Old City, entreated (according to the orders he had received on his departure) that the grand-master would at least consent to send Ville-gagnon—the same knight whose gallant actions have already been mentioned in this history; and who, greatly flattered with the high opinion entertained of his courage, accepted, with equal modesty

and resignation, the dangerous mission with which he was charged : but he represented, at the same time, that there was very little reliance to be placed upon a troop of peasants shut up in a city, who naturally were fearful of danger, and who were insensible to the shame annexed to those who avoid it ; that, in the present circumstance, the governor was in want of intrepid men, who were led on to action by motives of religion and principles of honour : in a word, that, in order to save the city, it would at least be necessary to send one hundred knights to its relief. The courageous Villegagnon, whose frankness had frequently offended Omedes, could obtain nothing from the grand-master ; who, wearied with such solid remonstrances, bluntly answered, “ That he expected courage and obedience, and not reasons, from a knight : that if he were afraid, it would be easy to find others, who would think themselves honoured by such a commission.” Villegagnon, piqued at a reply which seemed to strike at his honour, instantly said : “ I will presently show you, sir, that an idea of fear never made me avoid danger.” Upon which he immediately departed, accompanied by six French knights, his particular friends ; and in order to reach the city before day-break, they threw themselves, without saddles and bridles, upon some horses which were grazing in the moats of the castle, and thus arrived near the besieged town. In the darkness of the night they glided to the bottom of the wall, and having made the proper signals, a rope was thrown over, by which they all seven, together with their guide, entered the fort without being perceived by the enemy.

The presence of Villegagnon produced as great an effect as the arrival of a strong re-inforcement. All the inhabitants, with the country people, solemnised his entry by exclamations of joy and discharges of musquetry. These demonstrations struck the enemy with terror; which was still heightened by their having received false advice that a Christian fleet was at sea and making sail towards Malta.

Sinam issued orders for his troops to re-embark; but, that it might not be said his expedition entirely failed, the troops determined to attempt a descent upon Goza, which succeeded, owing to the cowardice of the governor—the only instance of the kind which had ever happened in the order. One English cavalier alone fired upon the Turks; but this brave man being killed by a shot from the enemy's battery, no one had sufficient courage to take his place.

The commandant of Goza, named Galation, made known to the bashaw his readiness to capitulate; but proposing such honourable terms as could only be granted to those who had made a glorious defence, they were rejected with contempt. Sinam gave liberty to only forty persons; and Galation had not only demanded his own, but that of two hundred inhabitants chosen by himself.

The Turks immediately entered the castle, and at the same time pillaged the governor's apartments; he himself being obliged to carry some of his furniture upon his back on board the infidels' ships. He was then stripped of his clothes, and bound like a slave. Six thousand Christians, of all ages, and both sexes, were, through

his abominable cowardice, reduced to the same state, and never ceased reproaching him as the cause of their misfortunes*.

* A Sicilian who had been settled for some time in Goza, preferring death to slavery, and dreading the consequences of the latter for his family, in a transport of rage and jealousy stabbed his wife and two daughters to the heart. Being determined not to survive them, he armed himself with a musquet and cross-bow, and having dispatched two Turks, rushed impetuously into the midst of the enemy, where, after wounding several, he at last met with the death he so eagerly sought.

CHAP. V.

The Siege of Tripoli. Insurrection of the Troops. The Capitulation violated. Remarkable Defence made by one of the Servants-of-Arms. The French Ambassador at the Porte redeems the Slaves. The Grand-Master endeavours, by underhand Contrivances, to ruin the Ambassador and the Governor of Tripoli. Villegagnon, a French Knight, undertakes to defend their Cause. The Ambassador leaves Malta. The Governor of Tripoli, together with three Spanish Knights, imprisoned and tried. Infamous Conduct of the Judge. Many Members of the Council courageously oppose the Execution of the Sentence. Henry II., King of France, demands that Justice shall be done to his Ambassador. The Grand-Master prevents the Vindication being sent to France. Villegagnon discovers that the Grand-Master has suborned the Judge: and attacks the former upon the Subject in full Council. The Grand-Master is obliged to sign the Ambassador's Vindication, and to commit it into the Hands of Villegagnon. New Fortifications erected at Malta. Fort St. Elmo. La Sangle elected Grand-Master. Honours paid him by the Viceroy of Sicily. The Grand-Master fortifies the Burgh; which takes the Name of City La Sangle. Dreadful Ravages occasioned in less than Half an Hour, by a Siphon or Water-spout. The extraordinary Accidents it occasioned. Dragut makes a Descent on Malta; but is obliged to re-embark his Troops.

THE capture of Goza induced Dragut and Sinam to pursue their good fortune; they accordingly set sail for Tripoli, which was not only extremely difficult to defend against the enemy, but was left in a very destitute state by Omedes, who could never be prevailed

upon to send necessary relief. Omedes, however, when it was too late, induced Gabriel D'Aramont, the French ambassador at Constantinople, to dissuade the Turkish generals from attempting the siege of Tripoli: but on reaching their army he found it already begun; and he was not only unable to prevail with them in any respect, but they contrived to detain him among them, on different pretences.

Scarcely had the enemy's batteries begun to fire upon the fort, when the Spanish and Calabrian troops sent thither by the viceroy of Naples and Sicily, being but just levied, and unaccustomed to stand fire, began to mutiny; and, what is very astonishing, they were encouraged in their insurrection by two or three Spanish knights, particularly by one named Errera, who acted as treasurer. The marshal of the order, Vallier, of the language of Auvergne, was commandant of Tripoli. He was universally esteemed a brave man; and made use of every effort in his power to quell the sedition. He was supported by all the other knights, except those already mentioned; but their exertions were fruitless—neither threats nor entreaties were of any avail: so that at last the marshal, perceiving the dignity of commandant no longer existed, and that obedience was out of the question, found himself obliged to enter into a capitulation; the articles of which, however, were never carried into execution. The Spanish and Calabrian rebels, convinced that their liberty was specified in the capitulation, went to meet the conqueror, who stripped them of their possessions, loaded them with chains, and reduced them to a state of abject slavery.

What, at such a moment, must have been the reflexions of those men, who, being themselves the cause of this shameful surrender, were reduced to drag on life in humiliating self-reproaches and fruitless despair! Equally disregarded by their enemies and their former protectors, they were left, without pity, to languish in chains, and to groan in a captivity brought on by their own treason and infamous cowardice.

Desveches, a servant-of-arms, commanded a small fort near the entrance of the port: and though the garrison consisted of only thirty men, he would not listen to any terms of composition with the Turks, but forced them to raise a battery against his inconsiderable fort, which, in course, was instantly reduced. Desveches, with his troops, had the good fortune to escape in a boat during the night, and to gain the open sea.

The French ambassador succeeded in obtaining leave to ransom the knights, which he did without distinction of country. This permission, however, was obtained with difficulty, by the means of presents, and paying a large sum out of his own private fortune.

D'Aramont embarked for Malta, accompanied by the knights he had thus ransomed. But he had scarcely begun to taste the heartfelt satisfaction of restoring his valiant companions to their order, when, in the midst of the blessings bestowed upon him by those whose chains he had broken, he was informed that the grand-master accused him of having given up Tripoli into the hands of the infidels. Omedes was, in truth, dismayed upon receiving intelligence that the town was taken; though he was more uneasy

than grieved upon the occasion, fearing, with reason, that the loss of so considerable a place would be attributed to him. He very well knew that complaints had been made in the convent of his having neglected the fortifications of Tripoli, and of his having embezzled the money destined for that purpose, in order to provide for his nephews. The loss of that place might, possibly revive those complaints, and occasion a strict examination into his conduct, which might, perhaps, end in his being deposed. In order to escape from so dangerous a situation, he determined to render the ambassador suspected, and to accuse him, together with marshal Vallier, of having occasioned the loss of Tripoli. His friends immediately began to propagate false reports with respect to the conduct of D'Aramont: they even secretly wrote letters to the different knights dispersed throughout Europe, to accuse him of being in league with the Turks. The language held in Malta on this subject, and the reports thus malignantly spread, soon reached D'Aramont: but no words can express his surprise on the occasion. He instantly demanded an audience; to which he was summoned to appear in full council. He took his seat next to the grand-master; and, thinking it unworthy his character and situation to condescend to refute such false reports, he only requested, addressing himself to Omedes, that "he would please to remember, that his journey into Africa was in consequence of his repeated entreaties; and that in order to induce him to comply with this request, the grand-master had represented that the interests of Christianity were concerned." He likewise noticed the great affection with which the king his master

had ever honoured the knights of St. John ; and finished by enumerating the services he had rendered the order on so important an occasion. The grand-master answered in few words, and with an air of distant coldness. D'Aramont, perceiving, that, in the present disposition of men's minds, it would be useless to endeavour to make the grand-master sensible of his injustice, or indeed to complain of it, departed a few days afterwards for Constantinople, but not without acquainting his sovereign, Henry II., with all that had passed.

The absence of the ambassador gave the grand-master an opportunity to contrive the marshal's ruin. It was decided in council, that he, together with the knights, should be forced to give an account of the motives which induced them to capitulate. Three knights, of three different languages, were appointed to take cognisance of the affair, and the grand-master took care to name three of his own creatures for this commission ; but as these commissioners, being in a religious order, were incapable of judging in a criminal cause which struck at the lives of the accused, it was determined that a secular should be named as head of the commission, who, after having examined the report of the three knights, should pronounce judgement on the criminals. The grand-master contrived that Augustin de Combe, a secular officer in the island, who owed all he possessed to Omedes, should be appointed to this office. This man was easily corrupted, being always ready to sacrifice his conscience to his love of money. He also made choice, for the attorney in the commission, of another secular, who was a Spaniard by birth, and whose only merit was a blind submission to his will.

Upon a petition given in by the official attorney, the marshal was apprehended, together with three knights, named Fuster, de Sousa, and Errera, who had likewise a very great share in the capitulation, though from very different motives from those which actuated the governor.

Depositions against the marshal were received from the most noted villains—men whose lives had been stained by the blackest crimes; whilst worthy men saw with grief that the ruin of Vallier was determined, let what would be the consequence; for so powerful was the cabal against him, and so odious had they contrived to make his cause, that no one ventured to say a word in his favour.

Villegagnon alone possessed sufficient generosity of soul to undertake his defence; and he acquitted himself in the affair with the most undaunted courage—declaring boldly, that it was very extraordinary, when the town was lost by the negligence, perhaps indeed by the avarice, of those who were employed to fortify it and to carry in supplies, that any one should attempt to make the marshal responsible for the crimes of others. The friends of this illustrious knight, together with the greatest part of the French, concurred in the justice of this defence, and began to open their eyes to the truth. The grand-master, perceiving the change which was taking place in the minds of those who composed the assembly, wished to hurry the business to a conclusion. The official attorney, in concert with Omedes, produced fresh witnesses. These, Villegagnon discovered, had been bribed; he therefore made a complaint

to the commissioners, and brought proof of the corruption. His representations obtained a delay of eight days, in order to give a hearing to the witnesses in favour of the marshal. More than sixty persons of known integrity appeared in this short space of time, whose testimony entirely crushed the depositions given in by the false witnesses.

After hearing the report of the commissioners, and afterwards the sentence pronounced by the provost, it was declared, in full council, that the loss of Tripoli was not occasioned by any treason; or co-operation with the enemy, on the part of the marshal or the knights, but entirely to be attributed to the cowardice of the Calabrians; that, in truth, there was no imperial constitution, nor any law, which, in such a case, decreed any particular punishment for the governors and officers; but that, according to the statutes of the order, any governor might be dismissed from his charge, who, without an express permission from the grand-master and the council, abandoned a fort which was entrusted to him to defend. In consequence of which it was concluded, by universal consent, "That the marshal, together with the knights Sousa, Errera, and Fusta, should be deprived of the habit and cross of the order, for having contributed to the loss of Tripoli."

A sign of discontent which escaped the grand-master, sufficiently proved that he was dissatisfied with this sentence. The truth was, he never would have included the three Spanish knights in the accusation, had he not wished to take off all suspicion of his having persecuted the marshal from national hatred: and he had

flattered himself, that, the marshal once out of the way, he should have found an opportunity of absolving his countrymen from all blame. Thus disconcerted by the sentence of the provost, he represented to the council, that, in an affair of such importance, it appeared to him that the judges had been too precipitate in their sentence, and that they ought to have made a great difference both in the crimes of the criminals and in their punishments; that, in his opinion, they should, at present, only execute the sentence against the marshal, and delay that of the officers till each had been separately tried.

The judge, finding the sentence he had pronounced against the accused had offended the grand-master, shamelessly changed his opinion; and in order to appease him, regardless of the judgement he had just passed, pronounced a new one; and the Spanish officers were left out of the general sentence. This alteration he endeavoured to explain, by declaring, that, though he had condemned them all to the same punishment, their crimes were of a very different nature. Upon which the bailiff de Schilling, addressing the judge, exclaimed:—"Are you not the most wicked of men, thus lightly to change your opinion, merely from a sign of disapprobation from the grand-master? After having judicially declared, that the accused, being all guilty of the same crime, were subject to the same punishment, you immediately change your mind, require that distinctions should be made in these said crimes, and sentence in consequence delayed."

"He has given judgement like the wretch he has proved him-

self to be," said a knight named Noguez, of the language of Castille, who at the same time, turning towards the grand-master, thus continued: "Never will I suffer the sentence to be executed on the marshal, unless the accused knights are equally punished, and at the same moment."

The whole assembly joined in this opinion, in which the grand-master feigned to coincide, and the affair was put off till another time. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, the grand-master could not succeed in having the same judge appointed again; who, finding himself loaded with reproaches, gave up the office; pretending, that, having already pronounced one sentence, it was impossible for him to give another in the same cause.

Henry II. being informed of the reports spread against the conduct of his ambassador, dispatched a gentleman of his household with a letter for the grand-master, which he received at the moment the first sentence was passed upon the marshal.

The king of France complained in the strongest manner of the infamous accusations brought forward against his ambassador; and desired to be explicitly informed, whether or not D'Aramont was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge.

Omedes, fearful of exposing himself, and wishing to get rid of so perplexing an affair, carried the letter of the king to the council, and, having read it, asked advice of the members how he ought to act upon the occasion. The whole assembly were unanimously of opinion that an answer should be sent to Henry, assuring him that the order, so far from having cause of complaint against this

ambassador, had every possible reason to thank his majesty for all the good offices he had rendered it. The council immediately ordered the secretary to draw up such a letter as soon as possible, to have it signed by the grand-master, and given either to the king's envoy, or to Villegagnon, who intended to accompany him to France.

The grand-master began to repent having communicated a letter to the council which had been privately addressed to himself, and employed every possible method to prevent the answer being dispatched. Such frequent delays gave cause of suspicion to Villegagnon, and made him imagine Omedes was plotting some fresh mischief. He accordingly took all imaginable pains to inform himself of what was going forward, and at last discovered that the grand-master had frequently private interviews with the judge, whom he reproached with weakness of character for giving up his office, assuring him that he was sufficiently powerful to put into his hands the same action a second time, but that he would never pardon his again changing the sentence. In order to oblige the judge to be faithful to his word, he insisted upon his entering into an engagement to pay him (the grand-master) five hundred golden ducats, in case he did not conduct himself throughout the whole proceeding in the manner prescribed to him.

Villegagnon learned further, that the grand-master had given the judge a memorandum of facts and different articles on which he was to interrogate the accused; and if the marshal either denied these facts, or refused to answer to the charges, his orders were that

he should be put to the question, that from the violence of the torture he might be induced to confess that he had given up Tripoli to the Turks by the instigations of the French ambassador.

No sooner was Villegagnon informed of this dreadful conspiracy, than he repaired to the council, and demanded, in the name of the king's envoy, that the letter intended for Henry should be committed to his care. On the difficulties started by the grand-master to delay the departure of the envoy, and on his questioning Villegagnon on the motives which induced him to press the sending the letter, the latter, after some preliminary explanations to the assembly, turned towards Omedes, and thus addressed him: "Since you command me to explain my particular reasons for wishing these papers to be sent into France, I will acquaint you with them; and that not only with the sincerity and openness I have ever possessed, but with the respect due to your person, and to the august assembly before which I stand." Then, raising his voice with all the pride of conscious rectitude, he thus proceeded: "Reports the most injurious to your honour, my lord, have for some days past been spread abroad. It is publicly declared, that, in a private conference with La Combe, you have agreed with him that he should undertake a second time to bring an action against the marshal; that the same iniquitous judge should, by torture, extort confessions of crimes he never committed, for which he should be sentenced to die; and that, after his execution, such confessions should be substituted in lieu of the letter ordered by the council to be written to the king. This, it is said, is the sole reason why the secretary has,

upon various pretences, delayed to deliver this letter to the king's envoy."

The grand-master could not possibly listen to a discourse of this nature without the most lively emotions of resentment: his eyes flashed fire; and, boiling with rage, he commanded Villegagnon to declare to the assembly who was the author of such infamous reports. "It is not yet necessary to name my informant," modestly replied the knight; "and all we wish to know is, whether the fact is true or false."—"Extremely false," exclaimed Omedes.—"Declare then before this assembly," said Villegagnon, "that you free your judge from the bond you insisted upon his giving, to pay you five hundred golden ducats in case he did not condemn the marshal to suffer death."—At words so terrible, the grand-maser showed the greatest signs of confusion. His presence of mind entirely forsook him; and, irritated beyond expression at being thus accused by an inferior, he loaded Villegagnon with a torrent of abuse. But, satisfied with having informed the whole council of the wicked designs formed against the marshal, this intrepid knight immediately quitted the assembly.

The grand crosses, and the other members of the council, justly incensed at such a perfidious conspiracy, named another judge, and ordered the secretary, under very severe penalties in case of disobedience, to deliver the letter for Henry II., couched in the terms heretofore prescribed to him, either to the envoy or to Villegagnon; and that this should be done the very same day, and in preference to all other business of whatsoever nature. The grand-master had

still sufficient influence over the secretary to induce him to alter some passages ; which Villegagnon perceiving, carried it immediately to the council, and made his complaints. The members, ashamed of such a piece of fraud, drew up themselves the plan of the letter, which, after all that had passed, the grand-master could not possibly refuse to sign *.

Henry II. had copies taken of this letter, which he sent to the ambassadors at different courts, that, by publishing the contents, all the evil reports spread by the enemies of France might cease. That nation was certainly extremely indebted to the zeal and adroitness shown by Villegagnon on this occasion. Indeed, this knight made use of his pen with as much success as he handled his sword, having published some excellent Latin memoirs, not only in Malta, but throughout all Europe, which still remain to posterity.

The marshal was still detained in prison, where he continued until La Valette was grand-master ; but the Spanish knights, who were alone culpable, obtained their pardon in a very short time. So true is it, that, in governments of every description, he whose power enables him to grant favours and bestow dignities, but too often contrives to mould men's minds at pleasure, and to make them sacrifice their own free-will to his wishes. Omedes possessed sufficient credit to induce those grand crosses who composed the council, to consent to the liberation of the above-mentioned knights.

Thus ended an affair, which has been detailed at large, in order

* It is given at large in M. de Thou's History. See vol. vii.

to give a just idea of the essential principles of the Maltese government; to show the extent of power granted by the law to a superior over an inferior; and how far, without derogating from that power, an inferior may venture to resist a superior.

The last descent made by the Turks on the island, joined to the loss of Tripoli, showed the necessity of fortifying Malta; which the knights foresaw the infidels would not fail to attack the very first opportunity. Strozzi, grand prior of Capua, together with three other commissioners, having surveyed the island, and examined the different situations with the greatest accuracy, represented to the council, that the bürgh, where the convent usually resided, though fortified by the castle St. Angelo, was likewise overlooked by Mount St. Julian, a point of land jutting into the sea; that it would be proper to build a fort upon this mount, to defend its approach from the enemy; that the port Marsa Musceit was open and undefended; and that, in order to prevent the entrance of an enemy's fleet, a new town must be built on Mount Sceberras, the most difficult place of access in the whole island, whither indeed, some time or other, it would become necessary to remove the convent; and, in the mean time, a fort could not be too soon erected on the point of this rock, to defend the entrance into the port Marsa Musceit. The commissioners concluded their report by exhorting the grand-master and council to fortify all those points of land, which, being longer than broad, formed a kind of port in the interval between each.

The council approved the plan proposed by the commissioners for raising fortifications; but as building a town would have ex-

hausted the treasury, they were obliged to content themselves for the present with erecting the other forts ; postponing until happier times the commencement of so considerable an undertaking.

The order sent to Sicily for masons and other workmen, who laboured indefatigably in their several occupations. The Maltese peasants were employed in removing the earth, driving carts, and carrying materials. All the knights, to expedite the business, repaired to the workshops, and relieved each other by turns. Every order in the state—knights, burgesses, and peasants—applied themselves with so much ardour for the benefit of all, that, in less than six months, the burgh was no longer in a state to fear a siege, and a castle was built and armed with artillery on Mount Sceberras. This was named Fort St. Elmo, in memory of one of the towers which defended the entry of the port of Rhodes, and which bore the same name. The fortress built upon Mount St. Julian was called Fort St. Michael.

It is the indispensable duty of an historian to do justice to the noble disinterestedness of the knights of that time ; to which indeed was greatly owing the expedition employed in building these different forts. Not only those who resided in Malta and in the convent, but all the absent commanders, conformable to their vows, dispossessed themselves of every thing, and sent their money and plate to the public treasury. Those knights whose only riches consisted in a gold chain, an ornament much in use among the warriors of that day, bestowed it with pleasure towards paying the workmen. In the course of this history, many instances of the same nature will

be seen, and the same spirit of perfect devotedness in the knights appears to have been perpetuated in the order.

It is impossible to express the satisfaction and joy felt by the knights and the inhabitants of Malta, at seeing forts, which, by the diligence of the directors of the works, seemed to spring up miraculously, to shelter them in future from the frequent incursions of the infidels.

The order fitted out an expedition for the coasts of Africa (1522), in which the intrepid valour of the knights shone forth in its usual lustre, but which was of very small advantage to Malta. The grand-prior of Capua took possession of Zoara, which he was obliged to surrender with considerable loss: the fear of seeing the standard of the religion fall into the hands of infidels, occasioned a most bloody battle. The knights were determined to defend it, and proceeded in a body to the sea-shore, whither they were followed by the infidels, who charged them with redoubled fury; but the knights, with their accustomed courage, sword and pike in hand, faced them in so undaunted a manner, and made so formidable an appearance, that, notwithstanding they were exposed to a very brisk fire, they were fortunate enough at last to reach their shallops, though at some distance from the shore. La Cassiere, who carried the standard, held it constantly exalted during the whole of an action in which the greatest part of the knights were killed; and, by such perseverance, added not a little to the fury of the enemy.

Claude de la Sangle was at Rome (1553) when he was elected

grand-master in the place of Omedes *; and, passing through Sicily, the greatest honours were paid him. The viceroy, fearing to act contrary to the inclinations of his court, consulted the most celebrated lawyers in Messina † on the rights and privileges of the grand-master, and the degree of rank which should be accorded to him. The result of these inquiries was, that the grand-master of Malta had, in all ecclesiastical dignities, precedence over the cardinals. In consequence of this, the viceroy (who likewise had received the emperor's orders by an extraordinary courier) proceeded, with the whole council, the body of the nobles, and the magistrates of Messina, to escort the grand-master from the admiral's galley; they went even to the stem of his vessel; and, in order to show him still greater honour, the viceroy, upon quitting the galley, insisted upon walking alone before the grand-master, in the same manner as he would have attended his sovereign. This prince entered Messina amidst the discharge of cannon; the garrison and citizens were under arms; and he was lodged in the most magnificent palace, where he was received and served, both at chapel and at table, with all the marks of distinction formerly paid to the ancient kings of Sicily.

The emperor then made a proposal to the order to establish itself in Africa—a powerful and strong city, the environs of which

* Omedes died the 6th of September, 1553.

† See Chassané—*Gloire du Monde. Article des Dignités Ecclésiastiques.*

were both fertile and populous; but the council rejected this offer, and their deputies induced the emperor to approve their determination.

The prizes continually taken by the Maltese greatly enriched the order; and at the same time the grand-master added new fortifications to Fort St. Elmo, to the Burgh, and, above all, to Fort St. Michael. This point of land advanced into the sea, was open on all sides, and had only a very small castle to defend it. La Sangle ordered the side of the castle opposite to Coradin to be enclosed with thick walls, which were fortified with bulwarks and bastions; to which were added, in different places, necessary flanks. Sea-water was also let into the ditches. The whole of these fortifications were entirely at the expense of La Sangle: the knights, therefore, to show their gratitude for such noble disinterestedness and such repeated favours, changed the name of this peninsula, which was formerly called Fort St. Michael, to that of Isle la Sangle, by which title it has ever since been distinguished.

Malta, through the generous attention paid by the grand-master to its interests, and by the bravery of the knights, became every day more flourishing; but, on the 23d of September, this state of prosperity was greatly diminished by a very unforeseen event. At seven o'clock in the evening a most dreadful storm arose in the port, of the kind to which seamen give the name of water-spout, and which the modern Greeks call *syphen*. This tempest was occasioned by violent and contrary winds. The waves swelled to an enormous height. Many vessels were sunk, and some thrown

out of the water even as far as the shore. Brigs and galliots were dashed to pieces; and, what was still more deplorable, four galleys were turned upside down, by which means most of the officers, soldiers, and crew of galley-slaves, were either drowned or crushed by the weight of the vessels. The houses near the port were thrown down, and the inhabitants buried in their ruins; even the castle of St. Angelo was shaken, and the staff, on which waved the grand standard of the order, was torn up, and thrown to the distance of half a mile. The violence of the wind, the torrents of rain, the waves which rose mountains high, presenting the most frightful abyss to the astonished sight, seemed to threaten the entire destruction of Malta, when, in less than half an hour, this shocking tempest ceased, and that as suddenly as it arose. The most perfect calm immediately succeeded; and, had not the ruins of houses and dismantled and broken vessels proved the fact, no one could possibly have believed that the port, now so tranquil, presented but a moment before a scene of the greatest horror. More than six hundred persons, consisting of knights, officers, soldiers, slaves, and galley-slaves, were either drowned or crushed to death by the overturning of the galleys. The grand-master, having heard of this extraordinary upset, ordered the galleys to be bored, and some of the planks to be lifted up. A monkey was the first that appeared, after which a knight called Excure (afterwards known by the name of Romegas), with many more knights, were drawn out: they had passed the whole of the night up to the chin in water, clinging with their hands to the under part of the vessel, with scarcely sufficient

air to prevent suffocation. On emerging from this confined situation, they all appeared pale and chilled, and when exposed to the fresh air, the greater part fainted away; but, with proper assistance, were perfectly recovered.

The lost galleys were soon replaced. The grand-master built one at Messina; the crew of which was furnished by the pope. Philip II., of Spain, presented the order with two well-armed galleys. Du Broc, prior of St. Gilles, likewise sent a large galleon to Malta, commanded by his nephew: it contained provisions, ammunition, and soldiers in readiness to be immediately employed at sea. Almost at the same time, Francis of Lorrain, grand-prior of France, entered the port with two galleys, and offered his services to the grand-master.

Whilst the order was thus employed in repairing its sea-forces, the corsairs from Barbary infested the coasts of Malta and Goza. Dragut even attempted a descent; but he was soon forced to retire, leaving the booty to the slaves he had made on the coast.

The Maltese galleys once more became the terror of the infidels; and the grand-prior of France, with only four galleys, attacked six Turkish ones close to Rhodes; three of which he put to flight, and, after sinking two others, brought the sixth to Malta, whither he returned covered with wounds and with glory.

The exploits performed by the knights at sea became every day more considerable, and I greatly regret my inability to enumerate them to the reader: I cannot, however, possibly pass over in silence the heroic and generous manner in which a Gascon knight

devoted himself for the order (1551):—animated by the example given by his general, and hurried on by his own spirit of bravery, he rushed into a Turkish galley; and, finding all escape impossible, boldly set fire to some gunpowder, and was blown up, together with the vessel. This remarkable action took place in the same year with the death of La Sangle.

C H A P. VI.

La Valette elected Grand-Master. A new Expedition to Africa. The Knights send thither Vessels and Troops. Exploits of the Maltese Galleys. The Order of St. Stephen created by Cosmo, Grand-Duke of Tuscany. Council of Trent. An Ambassador sent thither by the Order. The Bishops dispute Precedence with him. Decision in his Favour. The Attention paid to Demands made by the Order. The Reason given for such Conduct. The Fortifications of Velez in Africa, though till then judged impregnable, destroyed by the Maltese Squadron. The Galleys take a large and valuable Turkish Galleon, which induces Solymán to besiege Malta.

ON the demise of La Sangle*, the universal voice was in favour of La Valette; under whose government the order recovered its ancient authority, which was greatly diminished in some of the provinces in Germany, and in the Venetian states. He likewise succeeded in his endeavours to recover from thence the revenues which were due to the treasury, but which for a great length of time had not been paid in.

Almost immediately on his election, he exerted himself to repair an injustice which had but too long subsisted. Marshal de Vallier, late governor of Tripoli, whom Omedes had persecuted with such unparalleled acrimony, still lived:—The grand-master, La Sangle, had indeed relieved him from chains and imprison-

August 17, 1557.

ment, but various reasons had prevented his restoring him to his former situation. La Valette, more courageous, and convinced of the merit and good conduct of the marshal, thought it his duty to do him the strictest justice ; and, after an exact revisal of the proceedings against him, he acquitted him of the unjust accusations with which his enemies had endeavoured to blacken his character : he likewise conferred on him the title of grand-bailiff of Lango (1559).

The order, at the emperor's request, sent a supply to the viceroy of Sicily, of four hundred knights, fifteen hundred troops, and two hundred pioneers. The original plan was the re-conquest of Tripoli ; but, contrary to that, and to the opinion of the grand-master, the viceroy applied himself in preference to the taking an inconsiderable island called Galves ; where he retained his army for the purpose of erecting a fort, to which he gave his own name. This ill-judged vanity had the most fatal consequences ; but, fortunately, the powerful detachment furnished by Malta had returned thither before the entire defeat of the Christian army (1560). Three Maltese galleys, which still remained with the fleet, had the good fortune to escape. The bashaw, Gara Mustapha, attacked the imperial fleet, and obtained a complete victory. Doria, commodore of the fleet, together with the viceroy, saved themselves with difficulty ; the latter reached Malta, where he endeavoured to bury in oblivion his imprudence and misfortunes ; whilst the Turkish admiral returned to Constantinople, carrying with him twenty-eight Spanish galleys, fourteen store-ships, and twelve thousand

prisoners. Many of the knights fell victims to sickness in this expedition.

The Mediterranean being at that time infested by a swarm of infidel corsairs, who were equally able and enterprising, the grand-duke of Tuscany was desirous of securing himself in future from their incursions. He therefore formed a naval corps, and, to induce the officers to attach themselves to his service, he created an order of knights, who have since been under the tutorage of those of Malta. This order was instituted under the patronage of the pope St. Stephen, whose festival was celebrated on the 12th of August—a most fortunate day for Cosmo de Medicis, whose generals, a short time before, had gained the battle of Maciano against the Florentine exiles. This prince gave orders to the commanders of his galleys to join those of Malta, whenever they happened to meet; to sail together, and likewise to attack all corsairs that might present themselves.

A short time afterwards the general of the Maltese galleys met four Florentine galleys; the commander of which first saluted the admiral's galley, and then, going on board, demanded permission of the commodore to follow him during the cruize. The Tuscan general constantly went in person to receive orders from the commander of the Maltese galleys throughout this first expedition; which proved a very fortunate one; many Christian vessels being re-captured, many others saved from the pursuit of the infidels, and many corsairs taken. The Maltese and Tuscan galleys separated at Point Corfu, each returning to their respective ports, and con-

gratulating themselves on having formed an association so truly useful to the Christian cause.

Never had the order been so powerful at sea as at this moment, and never could it boast of so many celebrated naval officers. The king of Spain was so persuaded of this fact, that he entreated the grand-master to allow him one of those captains to command the Sicilian galleys.

The council of Trent being convened, the order was of opinion that it had an undoubted right to send an ambassador to an assembly held entirely for the good of the church. This ambassador being the last who arrived at Trent, the bishops claimed precedence over him; alleging, as a reason for their conduct, that it was not just that a member of a simple religious order, and the deputy of a society of friars, should be ranked among ambassadors, and, as such, take place of bishops. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the Maltese ambassador took his seat with those of other Christian princes.

Villegagnon had been named for this embassy, but was unfortunately taken ill immediately before the time appointed for his departure. Royal de Portabrange, his colleague, was therefore obliged to proceed alone to Trent. The demands made by the order, through its ambassador, were thought by the pope to be of a nature entirely out of the province of the council; his legates consequently took all possible pains to have it forgotten that they had ever been mentioned, and to avoid all discussions on that subject. Notwithstanding this disinclination on the part of the pope, the

order only solicited for a grant to confirm its immunities, and to maintain its regulations and statutes in the different Christian states; which could alone enable it to preserve the means of keeping the infidel corsairs at a distance, and prevent their landing on the coasts of Italy and Spain, whither they continually threatened to carry both fire and sword. Such had been the demands made by the ambassador, who, after having spoken in the most magnificent terms of the origin and heroism of the first knights hospitallers, added, that if the knights of the present day were inferior to their predecessors, it was owing to various causes, particularly that the protestants had seized upon some of their commanderies; and that the catholic prelates and princes, contrary to the customs and privileges of the order, frequently applied to the pope to be put into possession of priories and the richest commanderies. He concluded his harangue by entreating the fathers of the council, in the name of the order at large, to have a proper consideration for its antiquity, nobility, and the services it had for so many centuries rendered the Christian cause; to issue an order that all commanderies thus usurped should be restored; that for the future they should only be bestowed upon knights, according to their seniority; and that this decree should be followed by a most solemn confirmation of all the privileges granted to the order since its original foundation.

The proctor answered in general terms, and in the name of the council, that proper regard would always be paid to the preservation of the commanderies and privileges of an order which had

ever proved itself so useful to the church. This was the only reply made to such just demands ; but the reason is obvious ; for it is a well known fact that the popes were never at any time very scrupulous with respect to the methods they employed to enrich their nephews and dependents : indeed most of them disposed of the richest commanderies of the order to the detriment of those to whom, in justice, they were due ; not only from seniority, but from the services rendered that very church, the chief of which thus deprived of their rights its most zealous defenders.

At the very moment when this assembly neglected the interests of the order, and when no Christian power dared to advance a word in its favour, the knights of Malta took Pignon de Velez, a strong fortress, which the whole forces of Spain, two years before, had attempted, but without success. It is situated on the coast of Africa, forty leagues from that of Spain, and had always been considered as impregnable till attacked by the knights, when it yielded to the fire of two galleys and one galleon. In less than twenty-four hours a large part of the wall, with some of the turret, gave way, and the knights entered without suffering any loss. All the strong forts on the coast of Africa at that time in the possession of the Spaniards, had been formerly taken by the knights, whose purest blood had been shed in their service ; notwithstanding which, the Spanish minister at the council of Trent remained silent, and never attempted in the smallest degree to forward the interest of such generous allies.

Though the pope and the other Christian powers seemed de-

terminated to do nothing in favour of an order which was continually making sacrifices for their benefit, the knights redoubled their efforts to destroy the infidels ; being resolved at least to inspire admiration, if they could not obtain justice. Hardy and intrepid, they ventured on the most difficult enterprises, and fearlessly opposed their galleys, which in general carried only three large guns on each side, against a man of war, which they sometimes succeeded in taking.

Giou, general of the Maltese galleys, and Romegas, commander of those belonging to the grand-master, did not hesitate to attack a large Turkish galleon, laden with the richest merchandise of the east, having on board two hundred chosen Janissaries with bowmen, and a battery of twenty large brass cannons, with more than forty of a smaller size. After an engagement of five hours, and the loss of a hundred and fifty Christians and eighty Janissaries, the Turkish commander was forced to strike.

The capture of this vessel, which belonged to the chief black eunuch of the seraglio, was more noticed at Constantinople than the loss of an important fortress would have been. No sooner was the intelligence communicated to Solyman than he vowed the destruction of Malta ; and destined for that purpose, not only the formidable armaments which had been long preparing in his different ports, but all the Barbary corsairs, which he ordered to join his fleet ; together with the celebrated Dragut, and the Algerine fleet.

CHAP. VII.

The Grand-Master prepares to stand the Siege. Number of his Forces. His Harangue to the Knights. Awful ceremony which succeeded. The Turkish Fleet is discovered. The Infidels land and attack Fort St. Elmo. Misunderstanding between the Garrison and the Grand-Master. La Valette displays great Firmness and Skill in reconciling the Parties. Different Attacks. All Communication cut off between Fort St. Elmo and the Convent. The besieged reduced to the last Extremity. Their glorious Defence. The Knights all perish. Atrocious Conduct of the Turkish General. La Valette orders Reprisals to be made.

THE intrepid La Valette* neither felt nor expressed any apprehension on being acquainted with the preparations made against him by the sultan, but immediately turned all his thoughts towards

* Though Vertot has been accused of inaccuracy in the particulars he has given of this siege, I have not scrupled to quote him in the principal events, since there is not one that I cannot strictly prove from the most authentic testimonies and writings of those days, and of which Vertot was perfectly well informed. His answer, therefore, to some representations made to him on the subject, that "his siege was finished," was not founded on a dislike to being furnished with any essential and new information he might receive relative to his work, but from the thorough persuasion that the facts he transmitted to posterity, being taken from the archives of the order, and from all the contemporary writers, were perfectly sufficient. Those who applied to him on the occasion, as he had frequently experienced, had no other object in view but to request him to make mention of different knights, their relations, with whose genealogy they wished to acquaint him.

The authors of *Des Siècles Littéraires de la France*, a work published by N. L. M. D'Essarts, justify M. de Vertot in the fullest manner, and clear his memory from the smallest reproach.

the defence of Malta and Goza. From that moment the galleys were entirely dedicated to the transport of provisions, ammunitions, and troops, for the service of those two islands. The knights, dispersed in different parts of Europe, availed themselves of the opportunity offered them by these transports to return to Malta, and signalise their zeal in the cause of religion. No relief could be expected from the other Christian powers: France was at that time too much weakened by civil wars and intestine divisions. The emperor of Germany feared for his own frontiers, which were from time to time invaded and ravaged by Solyman. Pope Pius IV. contributed indeed the slender sum of ten thousand crowns; and Spain alone expressed an inclination to assist the grand-master; but the great length of time taken by that court to decide, added to its constant fears for Sicily, which it was very well known the sultan had some idea of attacking, gave very little hopes of any essential aid from that quarter.

The grand-master, exposed to such serious danger, placed all his dependence in that God in whose cause he had taken up arms, and in the intrepid valour of the warriors under his command. The inevitable perils he foresaw, had no other effect than to animate him with fresh courage; for the firmness of La Valette rose superior to events, and his natural bravery inspired him with an indifference for life. He had filled all the different offices of the order, and each promotion had been a proof of, and a reward for, those memorable actions which at last raised him to the dignity of grand-master.

His first step on this interesting occasion was to make a strict review of all who were able to bear arms, and he found that he might reckon upon seven hundred knights and eight thousand five hundred soldiers. These last consisted of those employed in the galleys, of regular troops in the pay of the order, of burgesses and peasants which had been formed into companies of militia. The different languages undertook to defend the posts assigned to their care, and the above-mentioned soldiers and militia were divided among them. The safety of the City Notable and Goza were taken care of, though many of the members of the council advised that they should be left to their fate.

La Valette afterwards assembled the knights, and having informed them of the magnitude of the danger they were about to encounter, and of the uncertainty of receiving relief from foreign powers, he with noble firmness addressed them in the following terms:—"A formidable army, and a swarm of barbarians, are upon the point of rushing upon our island; these infidels, my brethren, are the enemies of Christ; and it must now be decided whether our holy faith and the Gospel must or must not give place to the Koran. Our God, at this awful moment, demands the sacrifice of that life, which, in our profession, we have dedicated to his service, and but too happy are those who, in so good a cause, shall be the first victims. But in order to render ourselves worthy of so glorious a fate, let us hasten, my beloved brethren, to the sacred altar, there to renew our vows, and to obtain, through the precious blood of our Saviour shed for us, and by our faith in his sacraments,

that generous contempt of death which can alone render us invincible." Thus saying, he proceeded to the church, followed by all his knights, who, approaching the holy table, performed their Christian duties, and returned like men newly regenerated. No sooner were they filled with the bread of life, than every species of weakness disappeared, all divisions and private animosities ceased, and, what was still more difficult, they broke through every tender engagement so dear to the heart of man. From that moment they gave up all connexion with the other sex, of however innocent a nature. The knights embraced each other with that tender effusion of heart which universal charity must ever produce, and loudly protested that they would shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the Christian religion and its holy altars.

At the conclusion of this solemn ceremony, the grand-master appointed the knights to their different posts, and prepared every thing for the defence of the various strong places of the island.

The Turkish fleet at last appeared off Malta. It was composed of one hundred and fifty-nine vessels with oars, containing thirty thousand land troops, Janissaries and Spahis, the bravest soldiers of that nation. A considerable number of store-ships followed the fleet, carrying heavy artillery, the horses belonging to the Spahis, together with provisions and ammunition.

The Turks landed at St. Thomas's Creek, by some called the Ladder-port. Some of the troops separated themselves from the main body in order to pillage in the country, but they were killed by the military dispersed throughout the island, and thus perished

more than fifteen hundred infidels. The grand-master had at first permitted this kind of combat in order to familiarise his soldiery to the manner of firing, and cries of the Turks ; but he now put a stop to it, and placed all his forces in the different fortresses. Solyman's general determined first to attack St. Elmo, situated on a point of land which divides the two great ports. The garrison usually consisted of only sixty men, and was committed to the care of a knight named Broglio, an old Piedmontise officer. But such was the importance of this post, that the bailiff of Negropont with sixty knights and a company of Spanish infantry were sent to support it. The grand-master was still more anxious for its safety, because the viceroy of Sicily had promised relief from the king of Spain on condition only of this fort remaining in the possession of the knights.

The bashaws Mustapha and Pioli were so expeditious in their attack, that, on the 24th of May (1565), the Turkish artillery began to batter in breach, and the fort was immediately fired upon from the land side by ten eighty-pounders, two culverins (sixty-pounders), and an enormous basilisc, carrying stone balls weighing one hundred and sixty pounds. This was followed by an attack from the sea-side, on which occasion the infidels made use of long culverins, which greatly distressed the fort. In a few days the breach was opened, and the most bloody actions took place. These must have soon destroyed a garrison consisting, at most, but of three hundred men, had not the grand-master continued sending re-inforcements. Boats arrived every day from the convent with fresh troops, and carried back, during the night, all the wounded. Lacerda, a Spanish

knight, was sent to the grand-master to give an account of the state of the fort, and to solicit supplies. In order to obtain them, this officer, made eloquent by fear, exaggerated the danger of the garrison: La Valette appeared surprised at his account; and felt greatly incensed against him for having been so imprudent as to declare, before a great number of knights, that no one could expect so weak a place could hold out more than eight days—"What then has been your loss," replied the grand-master, "that you thus call out for succour."—"My lord," answered Lacerda, "the castle may be compared to a worn-out patient, whose strength can only be kept up by medicine and constant nourishment."—"I myself then will act as physician," said the grand-master, inwardly offended and indignant, "and will carry others with me, who, if they cannot succeed in curing you of your fears, will at least, by their valour, prevent the castle from falling into the hands of the infidels."

This prince certainly did not flatter himself that he should be able to hold out the siege for any time, and he secretly deplored the fate of those knights who were employed in so dangerous a service. But the safety of the island entirely depending on the preservation of this fort (the viceroy of Sicily having promised relief only on those terms), La Valette was resolved to go thither himself, and perish with the rest, sooner than be forced, by a feeble defence, to enter into a precipitate capitulation with the infidels. He was therefore preparing to head the re-inforcement, when the council and the whole convent strongly opposed his departure; and so many of the knights entreated to be honoured with this commission, that

the only difficulty was in the choice. The fort was incapable of containing more than from three to four hundred men, and with this handful of heroes alone it stood the siege still four weeks longer.

The storming of the raveline lasted from day-break till noon, and cost the Turks three thousand men. The order lost twenty knights and a hundred Christian soldiers. A great number of knights and soldiers were also wounded. Bridiers de la Gardamp, a French knight, having received a shot through the body, and perceiving his comrades preparing to lift him up—"Look upon me no longer," cried he, "as among the number of the living; your time will be better employed in defending your other brethren." He then crawled with difficulty into the chapel, and breathed his last at the foot of the altar. This circumstance was related to the convent on the return of the wounded, and greatly affected the grand-master; who, on the other side, was extremely incensed at perceiving Lacerda amongst those brave men—he having taken advantage of a slight wound to be sent back to the Burgh. La Valette was the more afflicted at such a proof of cowardice, it being the first instance of the kind which had ever happened in the order; and, though the weakness of this Spanish knight inspired him with some degree of pity, he nevertheless ordered him to be apprehended and sent to prison. What a contrast does the conduct of the bailiff of Negropont and the commander de Broglio present on this occasion! Though both wounded and far advanced in years, they for the first time thought themselves dispensed from the duty of obe-

dience, and refused to return to the convent, declaring, for excuse, that they were determined to perish at their posts, and die in the bed of honour. They therefore continued constantly under arms; and with faces scorched and absolutely disfigured by the sun, these respectable knights, decrepid as they were, employed themselves in carrying earth to the places which it was necessary to fortify, and in administering relief to the other knights, whose confined situation rendered them liable to be wounded every moment.

The infidels, insensible to the losses they continually sustained, pursued their attack with unexampled ardour; and the garrison, perceiving the ravelin taken, the whole fort exposed, the greatest part of the artillery dismounted, the ramparts in ruins, with very few soldiers to defend them, deputed Medran, a knight greatly esteemed for his valour, and whose report could never be suspected either of exaggeration or of proceeding from a sentiment of fear, to wait on the grand-master, and represent to him, that such was the deplorable state of the place, that it must necessarily be taken by storm; and, to prevent the garrison undergoing the same fate, they requested boats might be sent to convey them to the Burgh. The situation of St. Elmo being perfectly well known to the council, the greater part of the members were of opinion, that it would be more prudent to evacuate so very weak a fort, which cost the lives of so many men, and which, by such constant supplies, would by degrees exhaust the island, and leave all the fortresses without defence. These reasons, just as they were, did not convince La Vallette. He owned, indeed, that it was impossible not to feel the

greatest pity for those knights who, constantly exposed at so dangerous a post, perished daily ; but he insisted, that, on some occasions, it was necessary to risk the lives of individuals, to preserve the body at large ; and that he had been credibly informed, the safety of Malta depended on the duration of the siege, the viceroy of Sicily having declared he would no longer employ the fleet and troops of the king his master to defend the rest of the island, if once fort St. Elmo was either taken or evacuated ; therefore, cost what it would, the siege of this post must be continued as long as possible. The council feeling the force of these arguments, Medran returned, and declared, that the garrison must prepare to be buried under the ruins of the fort, into which the grand-master was determined to retire, and perish with them. Many of the knights, particularly the most ancient ones, protested, on hearing this answer, that they would die on their posts sooner than quit the fort. But the greater part of the officers of the garrison were of a contrary opinion ; and thinking the answer of La Valette too rigid and cruel, they sent to him a second time ; declaring, in a letter signed by fifty-three knights, that unless boats were immediately sent to convey them from inevitable death, they would follow the dictates of their despair, and immediately sally forth sword in hand, preferring to be thus cut in pieces to being crushed to death beneath the ruins ; that they were perfectly convinced the Turks had advanced a mine very far under the fortifications, which they soon purposed to spring ; and that they could not bear the idea of being slaughtered like wild beasts, or exposed to all the torments invented by the ingenious cruelty of the infidels, which

would inevitably be the case the moment the fort was taken.—La Valette, who never ceased deploring in his heart the cruel situation in which he was placed, with a courage which always rose superior to events, wrote for answer—That, in order to die with the same glory with which they had lived, it was not sufficient to fall sword in hand, but to sacrifice themselves to the obedience due to him, and to submit themselves to the fate imposed on them by the circumstances of the times; adding, that in a fort built on a rock, they had no cause of apprehension from the effects of a mine.

In order to give them fresh courage, or rather to gain time, he sent three commissaries to make a faithful report of the situation of the place, and to declare how long it was possible it might hold out.

Two of the commissaries, who were prudent and able men, and who wished to bring over the discontented knights to their way of thinking, expressed their surprise at so wretched a fort, reduced to such a ruinous state, having held out so long: they declared it appeared like the skeleton of a fortress; nevertheless, they were assured such valiant knights would maintain themselves in their posts a few days longer, in order to give the viceroy of Sicily time to come to their relief, and to force the Turks to raise the siege.—The third commissary, Constantine Castriot, a descendent of the famous Albanian hero Scanderberg, maintained boldly, that the place was not reduced to such extremities, and that it might still hold out some time. The knights, to whom he addressed these words, thought they were meant to insult them, and the most unpleasant dispute arose, which might have been attended by dreadful conse-

quences, had not the commandant of St. Elmo, to appease men ever alive to sentiments of honour, from which they never deviated in fact, though they might mistake the proper means of proving it, sounded the alarm, and every one flew to his respective post.

The commissaries, on their return to the Burgh, frankly owned they thought it impossible the garrison could stand an assault: Castriot indeed, either to support his first opinion, or out of resentment to the knights, declared the fort to be still tenable, and offered to maintain himself in it. La Valette, who very well knew what must happen, accepted this proposal; and Castriot instantly assembled together a number of well-wishers to the cause, who eagerly advanced to be enlisted for this service. The garrison of St. Elmo was apprised that a body of new-raised troops was appointed to take their place; and the following letter was written by the grand-master: "Return immediately to the convent, where you
" will remain in greater security, whilst we shall feel infinitely more
" easy about the preservation of an important fort, on which de-
" pends the safety, not only of the island, but of the whole order."

The discontented knights felt in the severest manner the indifference, indeed the contempt, comprised in these few words. Humbled to the dust at the idea of being succeeded by such troops, and dreading the reproaches they would receive from the whole order if they permitted such a change to take place, they instantly resolved all to perish sooner than give up their posts to these troops, or abandon them to the Turks. The commandant informed the grand-master of this resolution, who, from his perfect knowledge of the

elevated and delicate sentiments which had ever before distinguished these knights, expected this event. But though he had himself excited the emulation and jealousy which he knew it would produce, he determined at first to reject their offers: he therefore wrote, that he should ever prefer a well-disciplined militia to old warriors, who pretended to be themselves the arbiters of their duty, and to judge in what manner they should perform it. The knights were thunderstruck at this reply; and asking pardon in the most submissive terms, the grand-master began to soften, and his resentment was at length appeased.

During these commotions, defensive preparations were continually making against an enemy who neglected nothing towards an attack. A kind of fire-work was invented, which had the greatest effect in the assault afterwards made by the Turks. Hoops, composed of the lightest wood, were first dipped into brandy, then rubbed with boiling oil, and then covered with wool and cotton, soaked in other combustible liquors, and mixed with saltpetre and gunpowder. This preparation being cool, the same process was repeated three several times; and, on an assault, when the hoops were on fire, they were taken up with tongs, and thrown into the midst of the battalions. Two or three soldiers frequently got entangled in these flaming hoops, and were in danger of being burned alive if they could not contrive to throw themselves immediately into water.

The bashaw, ashamed of having remained so long before so insignificant a place, and piqued at the little success which had hitherto

attended the Turks, determined on a general assault, which he commanded in person, followed by all his troops, on the 16th of June. During the whole course of the night, his artillery had never ceased its fire, and the wall was rased even to the rock on which it was built. The Turks entered the ditch, which they had nearly filled up, to the sound of warlike music ; and, on the signal of assault being given by the firing of a cannon, instantly flew, with the most determined courage, to the assault. They were supported by four thousand archers, or bowmen, who shot continually from the trenches at all who appeared on the breach, which was lined by many ranks of Christian soldiers. To encourage and support them, a knight was placed at every third man ; and in these forces consisted the whole strength and only hope of the castle. Armed with pikes and spon-tons, these noble warriors seemed to form a fresh wall, through which the enemy in vain attempted to penetrate ; but an encounter soon took place ; and never since the commencement of the siege had there been so fierce an action. After having stood a reciprocal fire, and broken their swords and pikes, the Turks and Christians frequently began to grapple ; and on these occasions the poniard decided in favour of the strongest and most skilful. The artillery and small shot continued firing on each side, and both parties threw fire-works among the adverse troops. The knights made great use of the above-mentioned flaming hoops, which falling in the midst of the enemy, inevitably burned to death those who were near the spot where they fell. The cries of these wretches, those of the combatants—the groans of the wounded—the thundering noise of the

cannon and muskets—spread universal terror, without however inducing the Turks to retreat, or the knights to give up an inch of their ground.

The castle of St. Angelo and the Burgh being only divided from Fort St. Elmo by the breadth of the port, every thing that passed in this terrible and bloody action might be clearly seen from those places. The knights, and all those who witnessed so furious a combat, were so agitated and so interested in the event, that they appeared as if they themselves were exposed to the assault: their cries, and the different emotions painted on their countenances, plainly showed the advantages gained and the losses sustained by the garrison. The grand-master, whose undaunted courage would not allow him to remain an idle spectator, ordered the batteries at Fort St. Angelo, at the Burgh, and at La Sangle, to fire continually on the besiegers. He also frustrated an attempt made by thirty officers of the Turkish galleys to possess themselves of two of the weakest bulwarks. They had placed ladders at the foot of the parapet, and had mounted without difficulty to the top of the bastion; but La Valette planted two cannons against them, which killed twenty persons, who first made their appearance; and the ten others, terrified at their companions' fate, threw themselves very quickly into the trenches.

The Turks were not more successful in their attempt on the grand cavalier which surmounted the fort. They employed the whole strength of their artillery for a considerable time against this enormous mass of earth, which was supported by its own weight;

and when they endeavoured to scale it, they were vigorously repulsed. The knights, after having stood an assault of six hours, though covered with wounds, scorched by the sun, and exhausted by such a long defence, had at last the consolation to find that the Turks were the first to desist from the attack. The bashaw having lost more than two thousand men, was forced to sound a retreat. The Christians shouted for joy ; and their shouts were re-echoed by the loudest acclamations from the inhabitants of the Burgh. This glorious defence, which could scarcely have been expected from so weak a garrison, must be entirely attributed to the generous despair which actuated the greatest number of the knights ; who had, indeed, devoted themselves to certain death, and owed their conquest to a contempt of life, which induced them to rush upon the enemy, hoping to revenge their destruction by that of the infidels. Seventeen knights were killed in the breach ; and three hundred soldiers either perished or were disabled. The grand-master sent a re-inforcement of one hundred and fifty men ; and so great was the heroism and the wish to sacrifice themselves in the cause, that La Valette only made choice of those officers and soldiers who voluntarily offered their services on this occasion.

The bashaw seeing so many recruits pass from the Burgh to the fort, began to apprehend the siege would most probably last as long as there remained one single knight on the island : he therefore determined to leave no means unemployed to cut off all communication between these places ; and, by the advice of his first engineer, he unfortunately succeeded. Having made a kind of covered-way behind

the trench, under the counterscarp, they contrived to pass through to the sea-shore opposite Renelle. This line was guarded by numbers of archers ; and by means of these works, at which the Turks laboured night and day, the fort was at last invested, and entirely enclosed on all sides ; so that it was impossible for any boat to approach without being immediately either stopped or sunk by the enemy. The Turks having completed this business, resolved continually to storm a place which was alone defended by the undaunted courage of about three hundred men. On the 21st of June they returned in crowds to the assault, their whole army being in the trenches and at the foot of the wall. The bashaw, elated by the hopes of carrying the place, did not spare his soldiers ; but he always met with the same courageous resistance from the besieged. Three times were the infidels repulsed, and three times did they re-commence this furious assault. Numbers of knights perished ; and had not the close of day put a stop to the combat, they would no longer have been in a situation to resist the numerous enemies which pressed upon them on every side.

This little respite gave them an opportunity of examining the great loss they had sustained ; and they passed the night in listening to the groans of the dying, and in dressing each other's wounds. The bailiff de Negropont, L'Amirande, Dumas, and all the principal chiefs, gave every possible assistance to the poor soldiers ; and thus, like true Hospitallers, worthily performed the duties of their profession. Reduced to such a dreadful extremity, they neglected nothing which might contribute to their safety, or at least delay their

ruin as long as possible. They therefore employed an expert swimmer to cross the port, and represent the deplorable situation of the fort to the grand-master; who was much less surprised at this afflicting intelligence (which indeed he expected), than moved with compassion at the loss the order was about to sustain in so many valiant knights. He still endeavoured to contrive some method of sending them relief, and commanded five large boats to be armed, which were presently crowded by numbers of knights, all burning with zeal, and inspired by never-failing courage; but all their efforts were fruitless, and they found it impossible to reach the fort. Those who defended it, having lost all hope, determined to die like good Christians and religious knights. To prepare themselves for this event, they took the sacrament during the night; and having tenderly embraced each other, they returned to their posts, there to die, and to yield up their souls to their Maker in the performance of their duty. Those whose wounds prevented their marching, were carried in a chair to the breach, and, with their swords grasped in both hands, waited with heroic firmness the arrival of those enemies they were incapable of seeking.

The Turks began the assault at day-break, and shouted with the assurance of a victory which could now no longer be disputed; but the Christian soldiers still defended themselves with invincible resolution; and the certainty of dying with the knights, seemed to inspire them with an equal degree of courage. Some threw stones and fire-works, whilst others proudly advanced towards the enemy, whom they approached with the boldness of conquerors.

Even those who were unable to stand, never ceased firing their muskets. But, after having stood the assault four hours, sixty men only remained to defend the breach ; but these heroes proved themselves more than mortal, and, nobly despising death, still inspired their enemies with terror. L'Amirande, finding this post was on the point of being forced, called to his assistance some soldiers, who, till that moment, had maintained their place on the cavalier which had been made before the fort.

When the bashaw perceived the breach thus re-inforced, he immediately put a stop to the assault. As if disheartened by such an obstinate resistance, he pretended to retreat ; but only with the view of sending his Janissaries to take possession of the cavalier which had just been abandoned, and, at the same time, to seize on the superior posts of the breach, from which the fort might plainly be perceived.

The besieged took advantage of this respite to bind up their wounds ; not with the idea of saving the remnant of a miserable existence, but to give them strength to continue the combat a short time longer. At eleven in the morning the Turks returned to the assault with redoubled fury ; and the Janissaries on the top of the cavalier, together with those posted in other parts, seemed to make choice of those they wished to destroy. Most of the knights were killed by the enemy's fire ; and the few remaining soldiers, overpowered by numbers, perished in the breach. This terrible assault ceased at last, merely from want of combatants ; not one knight being left alive.

The bashaw entered the fort ; and, struck by the insignificance of

the place, rightly judged that the conquest of the Burgh could not be effected without much difficulty. "What resistance," exclaimed he, "may we not expect from the parent, when the child, small as it is, has cost us our bravest soldiers?" It is indeed well attested that the Turks lost eight thousand men at this siege; but, alas! the loss of the order was much more essential; three hundred knights and more than thirteen hundred soldiers having perished on this occasion.

Mustapha, who was naturally cruel, wishing to revenge the death of his troops, and at the same time intimidate the knights at the Burgh and in the other fortresses, commanded search to be made among the slain for all the knights, whose breasts he ordered to be opened, not even sparing those who still breathed, though confounded with the dead; and, having torn out their hearts, he, with unexampled barbarity, and as an insult to the sign of our salvation constantly worn by the knights, had their bodies cut in the shape of a cross; then covering them with their *soubreveste*, and fastening them to planks, he commanded them to be thrown into the sea, hoping, as was the case, that the tide would bear them to the foot of the castle St. Angelo, and towards the Burgh.

So cruel, so affecting a spectacle, drew tears from the eyes of La Valette: but his affliction being succeeded by the justest indignation, he, by way of reprisal, and to teach the bashaw not to make war like a common executioner, ordered all the prisoners to be immediately put to death; and, loading cannon with their still bleeding heads, fired them into the enemy's camp.

CHAP. VIII.

The Grand-Master disappointed of the Supplies promised by the Viceroy of Sicily. He harangues the Knights and the Inhabitants. The Siege of the Burgh, and of Fort St. Michael. Proposals sent by the Bashaw. The Grand-Master gives Orders to have the Envoy hanged, but permits him to return unmolested. A Turkish Flotilla conveyed by Land. Attack made from the Side next the Sea. Wonderful Acts of Valour performed by the Viceroy of Algiers, and his Lieutenant, Candelissa. Repeated Assaults. La Valette's Nephew killed.

THROUGHOUT the whole siege of Fort St. Elmo, the grand-master never ceased importuning the viceroy of Sicily for the so often promised supplies, but all in vain. Indeed the viceroy was placed in a difficult situation; for he had never received orders to join battle, nor had he a sufficient force so to do: besides, should Sicily be lost, his life would indubitably be the forfeit.

La Valette, dreading lest the loss so lately sustained by the order should make some fatal impression on the minds of his troops, assembled them together, and, marching through the ranks, addressed them in the following terms: "We are soldiers of Jesus Christ equally with yourselves, my friends; and should you be so unfortunate as to lose us all, together with the rest of your officers, I am firmly persuaded you would not fight with less courage; and that, in such a case, you would require no superior orders to induce

you to follow the dictates of your own brave hearts." These few words, spoken with firmness, and tempered by a gentle familiarity, inspired his hearers with the noblest sentiments. It was then resolved, that in future no prisoners should be made, but that every one should be put to the sword. This was done, not only to show the Turks that there were still some left to avenge the cruelties exercised on the knights at St. Elmo, but to prove to the soldiers and inhabitants, that, to whatsoever extremities they might be reduced, no hopes remained of any terms of composition between them and the enemy; consequently, their own safety must ever depend on that of the island.

The bashaw, in the mean time, sent proposals to the grand-master to surrender: he immediately ordered the envoy, who was a miserable slave, seventy years old, released from his chains for the occasion, to be hanged; but this order being only given to frighten the deputy, he was sent back, after having been offered his liberty, which he refused to accept. The knight employed to escort him from the Burgh, made him pass through the midst of several ranks of soldiers, who were purposely under arms; and, when he arrived at the counterscarp, he showed him the different fortifications, together with the very deep ditches which surrounded them, saying, "this is the place we mean to surrender to the bashaw, and we reserve it on purpose to bury him and his Janissaries."

This answer convincing the bashaw that nothing but the force of arms could make him master of the island, he immediately raised nine batteries against La Sangle, St. Michael, and the Burgh.

Seventy large cannons began to batter in breach ; after which the trenches were opened ; and, where the rock was too hard, the 'Turks raised walls of dry stones. But what they particularly aimed at, was to block up the Christians in such a manner that they could have no communication either by sea or by land. Before the passage by land was entirely closed, a small re-inforcement arrived, composed of forty knights, with some other gentlemen of different nations, who, favoured by a thick fog, fortunately landed in the Black Stone Creek ; after which they contrived to gain the port, or rather the Ladder Cove, where they found boats, which conveyed them in safety to the Burgh. Galleys were indeed dispatched by the viceroy of Sicily, who wished to be informed whether Fort St. Elmo still held out. One of the persons employed on this occasion made use of an innocent artifice, and acquainted the viceroy, that, without immediate assistance, St. Elmo must be inevitably lost. The first object of the Turks was to reduce La Sangle and its castle, which they constantly fired upon from a battery erected on the heights of Coradin, which commanded them both. The besieged were at that time cut off from all communication except towards the sea ; to deprive them of which, the bashaw undertook so bold a measure as can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of history. In order to execute his project, it was necessary to transport boats by land from Port Marsa Musceit to the grand port, it being impossible for them to pass any other way without going under the batteries of Fort St. Angelo, which would have sunk them immediately. Fortunately for the order, Lascaris, a Turkish officer of the illustrious

house of that name, having deserted from his party, discovered the plan. His intelligence was of the greatest consequence to the knights, who had not the most distant idea of being attacked on their flank from the sea-side.

No sooner was the grand-master recovered from the surprise occasioned by so hardy and difficult an enterprise, than he took every possible method to prevent its success, by fortifying those parts of the coasts and the port where it was probable the infidels, by means of their boats, might be able to land. But, above all things, it was particularly necessary to prevent the Turks from approaching the wall of Fort St. Michael. It was therefore decided, that the whole way from the Coradin rock to the end of the island a staccado should be formed, by driving stakes into the sea, which should be fastened together by means of iron-rings on the tops of these stakes, through which should pass a long chain. In those places where the water was too deep, or the bottom and rock too hard to drive in the stakes, they were supplied by nailing together long sail-yards and masts of ships, which, with the chain, would render the passage impracticable. They also made other staccadoes, to prevent the enemy coming near the coast, where the English and German languages were posted, and likewise to protect the port of the Infirmary. The Turkish artillery playing constantly on them, prevented their carrying on those operations during the day : they were, however, entirely completed in nine nights. The bashaw was not a little surprised at the sudden appearance of such extraordinary works, raised, as it were, from the bottom of the sea, which presented a serious obstacle

to the passage of his boats and the landing of his troops. But he was too able a man, and possessed too much courage, to relinquish his original plan. He flattered himself with the hopes of removing the stakes from the staccado, and thus opening a passage for his small flotilla. He therefore selected some Turks who were good swimmers, and who, with hatchets in their girdles, contrived to reach the pallisades ; then, climbing up the sail-yards, waited with great perseverance to cut them asunder. The noise they made presently discovered their design, and cannon, with small shot, were discharged against them ; but the firing from above failed of success. Admiral de Monte, commandant of the island, fought them with their own weapons ; and employed some of the most capital swimmers among the Maltese, who, throwing themselves entirely naked into the sea, and carrying swords between their teeth, presently joined the Turks, whom they pulled off the first staccado, and, killing or wounding part of them, closely pursued the others, who betook themselves to flight, and had no small difficulty to reach the shore. The following morning the Turks returned to the charge ; and, without being perceived, fastened cables to the masts and sail-yards which formed the pallisade ; and, by means of capstans, which they found on the shore, endeavoured to loosen and draw up these large pieces. But the moment they were discovered, the inhabitants of Malta, being almost all expert swimmers, plunged into the water, and with their sabres cut the cables asunder, and thus frustrated the bashaw's second attempt. These different skirmishes by sea having ceased, the bashaw ordered his batteries to fire all at the same time ;

and by so doing soon opened various breaches in the advanced fortifications of the Burgh and Fort St. Michael. But the Turkish generals would not attempt an assault till the arrival of Hascen, the viceroy of Algiers; who very soon landed in the island at the head of two thousand five hundred men, all of whom were old approved soldiers, whose determined courage had acquired them the name of the brave men of Algiers. The young mussulman who commanded them, being the son of Barbarossa and the son-in-law of Dragut, wishing to render himself worthy of those great names, of which he was not a little proud, and at the same time to render illustrious his own, entreated the bashaw to let him have the honour of storming Fort St. Michael, which he boastingly said he would soon carry sword in hand. The bashaw, who was an old general, rather wished the presumptuous youth might learn from experience, and at his own risk, how great was the prowess of the valiant knights he was going to attack: he therefore obligingly told him, he made no doubt of his success, and that he willingly consented to yield to him the whole glory of the action whenever the affair should be communicated to the sultan.

Whilst the Turks were endeavouring, by the ruinous effects of their artillery, to open a passage into the island, all their slaves, together with the crews of their galleys, were employed in carrying a prodigious number of boats across Mount Sceberras and Marsa Musceit post; which they effected; and, having set them afloat, Hascen's lieutenant manned them with part of his brave men of Algiers. The name of this officer was Candelissa. He was a Greek re-

negado, cruel and sanguinary in his nature, but a very able seaman. Two thousand picked men from the bashaw's army were added to the Algerine troops ; and the boats, thus armed, proceeded forward to the sound of drums and other Barbaresque music. These were preceded by a long boat, filled with priests and religious Mahometans of different descriptions ; some of whom, by prayers and hymns, implored the assistance of heaven ; whilst others held open books in their hands, and read aloud the bitterest imprecations against the Christians. This ceremony gave way to more formidable arms. The Turks advanced proudly towards the staccado, which they in vain attempted to break through. Their intention was to make use of it as a bridge ; and for that purpose they brought planks with them, which proved too short to reach from the last pallisade to the shore. The Christian batteries, during the whole operation, incessantly fired, and caused great ravages among them : many of the boats were sunk, and many others obliged to retreat.

Candelissa presently rallied his soldiers, and perceiving one part of the staccado which did not entirely cover the island, he made an attempt to land. This was commanded by Gaimazan, an ancient knight, who permitted the enemy's boats to advance till they were within gun-shot, when, instantly discharging his cannon, together with a volley of small shot, he sunk great numbers of their vessels, and, as it is said, killed by these means four hundred of the Turks. But Candelissa, who had been educated in a camp, and early accustomed to the disasters of war, effected a landing while the Christian gunners were employed in re-charging their pieces,

and, placing himself at the head of his Algerines, contrived to reach the shore ; where fresh dangers awaited him ; for Gaimazan, when he ordered his artillery to fire, had reserved two cannons charged with cartridges, which he now pointed against the Turks, and killed great numbers. Their general, whose intrepid valour never forsook him, perceiving part of his soldiers beginning to stagger, and others preparing to fly to their boats, endeavoured, by prayers, threats, but principally by his own example, to induce them to remain on shore ; and, to prevent the possibility of a retreat, he ordered the boats to a distance ; thus proving to his soldiers that the exigence required they should either conquer or die. Despair, on this occasion, more than supplied the place of courage, and led them to perform actions almost supernatural. The Algerines, who headed the attack, holding a sabre in one hand and a ladder in the other, endeavoured to mount the intrenchment. Each strove to outdo his comrades, and gain so dangerous a post. Equally fearless, they all showed a perfect contempt of life ; and pursuing the attack with the most resolute order, after a combat of five hours reached the top of the intrenchment, where they planted seven standards.

The knights, though reduced to a very small number, no sooner perceived these standards, than, filled with shame, and fired with the spirit of emulation, they returned to the charge, and, headed by admiral de Monte, renewed the attack. But it was greatly to be feared, that, some part being killed, and the rest entirely exhausted, the affair would turn out unfavourably ; when the grand-master, whose watchful care, though absent, made him

acquainted with all that passed in these different combats, sent some troops to their assistance. These were commanded by De Giou, who, pike in hand, advanced at their head, and, charging the infidels, tore up the standards, drove every thing before him which attempted to resist the strength of his arm, and at length forced the enemy to abandon the top of the rampart, where they were already preparing to take up their quarters.

The Algerines and Turks, pressed by the knights, who pursued them sword in hand, hastily threw themselves off the ramparts.—Their commander, Candelissa, though he had hitherto showed the most resolute bravery, was one of the first of the fugitives. But having lost all hope of keeping his post, and fearing he might fall into the hands of the knights, who gave no quarter, he had no other resource than to recal his boats, into which he eagerly precipitated himself before any of his troops. The brave Algerines, though thus abandoned by their chief, made a running fight, in which they acquitted themselves with wonderful courage. This obstinate resistance incensed the knights, who, accompanied by some soldiers, rushed out of a casemate, sword in hand, surprised the infidels, and charged them so briskly, that, after several had been killed, the others thought it more prudent to re-embark. But they were equally ill-treated at sea, their boats being destroyed by the discharge from the batteries. In vain they threw themselves at the feet of their conquerors to implore mercy; they received no other answer than what was termed the pay of St. Elmo; and, by way of

reprisal, they were all cut to pieces. Of four thousand men, who engaged in this expedition, scarcely five hundred remained, the greatest part of whom were most desperately wounded.

The order, independent of soldiers, lost a hundred knights and secular gentlemen, whom zeal for the faith had brought to Malta. The son of the viceroy of Sicily was very particularly regretted. This young knight, whom, from consideration for his father, the grand-master had constantly retained near his person, hearing of the extremity to which the knights were reduced, made his escape, and flying precipitately to the most dangerous post, was killed by a cannon-shot on that memorable day. La Valette could not possibly induce several of the wounded knights to go into the infirmary, they being resolved to remain on the spot where they received their wounds, instead of quitting the action merely for the purpose of having them dressed.

The same dreadful carnage on each side took place on the attack made by the viceroy of Algiers, who, after having given the signal for assault, by a cannon-shot, advanced fiercely at the head of his troops towards the breaches made by his artillery on the side next Burmola and the castle of St. Michael. The Algerine soldiers he retained about his person were those whom he commanded to begin the attack, which they did with wonderful ardour and resolution; so much so indeed, that they hoisted their ensigns the whole length of the parapet. A colonel of horse, named Robles, not only celebrated for his valour, but for his great experience in military

affairs, commanded in this place, and opposed this first impetuosity of the infidels with the whole strength of his artillery, which he had purposely charged with cartridges, and which he fired through the thickest battalions of the enemy. This caused a dreadful slaughter; and the Algerines, unable to stand so violent a fire, slipped along the parapet, and gained a breach, where they hoped, from the report of some deserters, they should meet with less resistance. The commander in that part having been disabled, was succeeded by admiral De Monte; who, finding it impossible with his few remaining troops to dislodge the enemy, called to his assistance those knights who had just repulsed Candelissa in so courageous a manner. They instantly flew to the charge, at the head of a troop of brave inhabitants; and, as if the victory so lately obtained had been a token of future success, their presence immediately changed the face of the affair, and inspired fresh courage in the bosoms of those troops who remained on the post, and who, one and all, fought with such determined resolution, that the viceroy was unable to withstand their united efforts; but, after having lost the greatest part of his brave Algerines, was forced to sound the retreat, and to retire from the charge.

The bashaw, hopeless of vanquishing the knights by any other means than exhausting their strength, and reducing them by constant fatigue, resolved to give them no respite. He therefore, though the combat had already lasted five hours, continued the assault, and re-placed the Algerines by some Janissaries sent him

by the grand-seignor purposely for this expedition. These soldiers, the principal support of the Ottoman empire, behaved with a courage that braved all danger ; and it was against such enemies that the knights of Malta, parched with thirst, and worn out by heat and fatigue, were obliged once more to take up arms. The first discharge being made by each party, they faced the enemy, and having joined the Janissaries sword in hand, each man attacked a particular foe, and thus changed a general battle into as many single combats as there were soldiers in the field. The Janissaries equalled the Christians in courage, and never spared themselves in the smallest degree. Universal terror pervaded each party, and the danger was reciprocal. A Turk having witnessed the terrible carnage that a knight named Quiney made among his comrades, advanced towards him, and fearless of danger, provided he succeeded in putting him to death, shot him through the head with a musket-ball, and was instantly afterwards run through the body by a knight : but the death of this soldier poorly revenged the loss of the gallant Quiney.

Simiane, at the head of a troop of inhabitants, composed of men, women, and children—who threw stones and fire-works into the midst of the enemy—forced the Turks to abandon one of the breaches of which they had taken possession : and in order to repair it, he immediately sent for pioneers, who, by his command, and in his presence, placed barrels and wool-packs into the breach ; behind which, openings were made, well fortified by intrenchments. Whilst



thus employed in works so urgent and necessary for the preservation of the place, regardless of his own safety, his head was unfortunately taken off by a cannon-ball. Independent of these losses, more than forty knights, and near two hundred soldiers, perished in this last affair.

Neither the extreme danger, nor the numerous difficulties of this siege, in the smallest degree discouraged the bashaw. He contrived a sort of raised bridge, by which he thought his troops might be enabled to mount to the assault. Twice the Christians attempted to burn this bridge during the night, but without success; it was therefore determined to destroy it by day; and the grand-master, to prove he did not spare his own relations more than the rest of the knights, intrusted this commission to his nephew, Henry De la Valette. This youth, full of fire, and nobly courageous, sallied forth in full day-light, accompanied by his best-beloved friend, the chevalier De Polastron, together with a sufficient number of soldiers. Their plan was to fasten cables and strong ropes to the principal wooden stakes which supported the bridge, and afterwards by manual strength draw them out, and thus overthrow this curious piece of work. The soldiers began their operations with much courage; but being exposed to view, they were presently attacked by a discharge of small-shot, which forced them to retreat even to the ramparts of the castle, where they sheltered themselves from so terrible a fire. Polastron and the youthful La Valette, animated by the true spirit of bravery, placed them-

selves on their post, without perceiving whether or not they were followed by their soldiers; but no sooner had they reached the foot of the bridge, than they were both killed on the spot by musket-shots. The bashaw having promised a reward to those who brought him the heads of any of the knights, several Janissaries immediately came up to the bodies, to behead La Valette and Polastron; but the Christian soldiers, in despair at the part they had acted in abandoning their officers, were determined to perish rather than return into the fort without at least carrying off their remains. The bodies were disputed in the most violent manner by the two parties, and many were killed on both sides; but at last the Christians, either from superior strength or firmness of resolution, obtained the victory; and having gained this melancholy advantage, returned to the fort.

The grand-master bore his nephew's death with the greatest firmness, and by such resignation added not a little to those other great qualities which had shone forth with so much lustre throughout the whole of the siege. When several ancient knights endeavoured to console him for so great a loss, he answered them in the following terms: "Every one of the knights is equally dear to my heart. I look upon them all as my children; and the loss of Polastron affects me as much as that of La Valette. After all, indeed, these two young men have only perished a few days before the rest." Such were the sentiments of this great man, who in all things proved himself so worthy of his post, and in whose presence alone

consisted the principal strength of the island. Of his own safety he was still more careless than that of others : and after having been shown the spot where his nephew perished, he ordered the wall to be opened facing the bridge, and having placed a piece of artillery in the cavity, he fired this cannon with so much success, that he presently beat down the bridge, and the following night set fire to its remains.

CHAP. IX.

The Turkish General and Admiral having formed fresh Plans of Attack, storm the Fort on the 2d and 7th of August. Intrepid Courage displayed by the besieged. The Women distinguish themselves by Acts of Valour. A successful Sally made from the Old City. The Turks' Hospital surprised and ransacked. Bloody Assault on the 18th of August: the Burgh narrowly escapes being carried. The undaunted Firmness of La Valette, who exposes his own Life, notwithstanding the repeated Entreaties of the Knights. The Assault continues the Whole of the Night, but without Effect. New Attacks on the 19th. A huge Machine, filled with Gunpowder and Grape-Shot, thrown among the Knights; who throw it back again before it catches Fire. The Explosion occasions dreadful Mischief. The Grand-Master is wounded. Gallant Conduct and Death of the Governor of Bosnia. The Fort most obstinately attacked on the 21st and 23d. The Knights informed beforehand of the last Assault, by a Note thrown into the Place. The Council of the Order agree to abandon the Burgh, and retire to the Castle St. Angelo. The Grand-Master opposes their Plan.

THE bashaw, fearing the grand-seignor might attribute these repeated failures to some fault in his conduct, called an extraordinary council of war. After mature deliberation, it was determined that Mustapha, in conjunction with the viceroy of Algiers, should continue to storm La Sangle; that admiral Piali should besiege the Grand Burgh and the castle of St. Angelo; and that Candelissa should continue at sea with eighty galleys, to prevent any relief from abroad. In order to execute this plan, the Turkish generals

kept up a constant fire against the posts allotted them to attack ; and on the 2d of August the bashaw began to storm Fort St. Michael. The assault lasted six hours ; and the officers made their soldiers renew the attack five different times ; but they were always opposed with the same undaunted courage. After an interval of five days, Fort St. Michael was again stormed, and this at a moment when, by way of deceiving the besieged, the assailants threatened to attack the Castille bastion. The Janissaries, to whom was committed the real assault, advanced boldly to it, making the air, as usual, echo with their shouts, which were only answered by a heavy fire, that destroyed numbers of men before they could possibly reach the foot of the wall. But notwithstanding death reigned on every side, they intrepidly pushed forward, and, stepping over the bleeding bodies of their fellow-soldiers, succeeded in mounting the breach. The fight lasted four hours ; and on that memorable day the whole of the Christians, and even the women, signalised themselves most gloriously against the Turks. Whilst the peaceful inhabitants of the country, together with the citizens, joined their forces to defend the island, their wives and children performed actions which in some degree equalled the resolute valour of the knights. If paternal and conjugal affection inspired these men with a strength and courage hitherto unknown to them, some of the women likewise nobly exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, in order, if possible, to save by their exertions husbands, fathers, brothers, and children. Part of these resolute females were employed in carrying stones, arrows, food, and different refresh-

ments, to the combatants, whilst the rest boldly mixed among them, and threw fire-works, boiling water, and melted pitch, into the midst of the Turks. The dread of being deprived, not only of their liberty but of their honour, should they be taken by the infidels, made these valiant women rise superior to the fear of death. The Turks, naturally fierce and cruel, were so incensed at being opposed by such weak though courageous enemies, that they showed them no quarter, but slew a great number with the sword, and destroyed others by throwing, in their turn, fire-works amongst them.

The bashaw, in the mean while, grasping his sabre in his hand, flew from the foot of the breach, where he had posted himself among his troops, whom he alternately exhorted, entreated, and threatened : he even slew with his own hand two of his Janissaries, who, pressed upon by the knights, had thrown themselves from the top of the breach to the bottom. But at the very moment when the grand-master began to fear for the fort, Mustapha, to the great surprise of both Christians and Turks, gave orders to sound the retreat. The reason of his conduct was afterwards explained : and it was discovered, that the governor of the Old City, having made a sally, had taken possession of the hospital of the Turks, which he had burnt and entirely pillaged. Those who had the charge of this department, and who were fortunate enough to make their escape, gave out that it was taken by the advanced guard of the Sicilian troops, who were just disembarked, and were proceeding forward to raise the siege. This intelligence soon reached the bashaw, who, being assured that in a moment of general consterna-

tion to attempt to convince them by reason would rather increase than diminish their fears and their belief in the danger, gave way to public opinion, and was under the necessity of sounding the retreat, and of proceeding to meet an imaginary enemy: the real one, indeed, had retired from the charge, and the bashaw had nothing further to apprehend from that quarter.

La Valette, in the interim, received intelligence that the viceroy of Sicily had determined to come to his assistance, and that his fleet would be ready to sail towards the end of the month. Comfortable as was this assurance, the grand-master did not relax in the smallest degree from the constant attention he paid to the security of the island. The fort was in the most dangerous situation. Mines had been formed in many places, which the knights, notwithstanding all their efforts, could never fill up.

Mustapha and Piali, in despair at what had happened, agreed between themselves, either to lose their lives at the foot of the breach, or each to carry the place he had undertaken to attack. Nothing but the testimony of the historians of that time could possibly persuade posterity that a small number of warriors could have so long withstood, not only such repeated attacks, but such constant watchings and unremitted fatigue.

The Turkish generals determined, before they parted, to make a new attack, and to continue it, if necessary, both night and day; hoping, at least, by these means to wear out the knights, if they could not overcome their unbounded valour.

They fixed on the 18th of August for this purpose, and the two generals advanced at the head of their respective troops, making choice of noon-day for their attack, from the idea that the Christians, oppressed by the intense heat, would most probably choose that hour to retire to rest behind their ramparts.

The bashaw marched his soldiers to the breach at St. Michael's, and the admiral to the bastion of Castille. Indeed, the former fort had been very fiercely attacked some hours before by the infidels, who had fired upon it in so terrible a manner, that neither walls, fortifications, nor intrenchments, could possibly resist their fury. The bashaw afterwards commanded his soldiers to mount to the assault. They being the flower of his troops, animated by the spirit of bravery, and fighting in the presence of their general, it is not wonderful they should exert themselves in an extraordinary manner. The knights opposed them with their usual intrepidity, and, though worn out by fatigue, and the greatest part of them wounded, they never proved themselves so perfectly superior to all idea of danger. After a combat which lasted more than six hours, they repulsed the enemy—more indeed by the excess of their courage than by the force of their troops.

The attack made by the Turkish admiral on the bastion of Castille was equally dangerous and bloody. He had deferred his purpose a short time, imagining that some of the troops stationed at that place might possibly be dispatched to the relief of Fort St. Michael; but finding that the soldiers still continued on

their posts, he commanded his men to set fire to a mine situated in a spot the least suspected by the Christians; and no sooner had the explosion thrown down a part of the wall, than the besiegers prepared to begin the assault, and, loudly shouting, immediately mounted the breach. The fort would undoubtedly have been carried, had the knights who were upon guard at this place been sensible of fear, or shown the smallest sign of discouragement.

Brother William, who was the chaplain belonging to the order, perceiving the flag of the infidels hoisted at the foot of the parapet, flew precipitately to the grand-master, and, terrified beyond description, made him a sign to retire instantly into the Castle St. Angelo. But this intrepid old man, placing a light morion on his head, without even waiting to put on his cuirass, boldly advanced to meet the infidels, and, accompanied by the knights who were immediately about his person, charged them so impetuously, that, unable to resist such efforts, and perceiving a re-inforcement of inhabitants coming to join the grand-master, they began to make good their retreat, though they constantly continued discharging volleys of small-shot.

Such was the situation of La Valette, that all around him earnestly entreated he would retire from the action: one of the knights even kneeled to implore him to attend to his safety; upon which the grand-master, pointing to the Turkish standards, which waved in the wind, answered, that, before all things, he was determined to pull down the trophies raised by the infidels. All the surrounding knights immediately rushed forward, and a fresh com-

bat took place, in which perished the bravest part of each army. The standards, however, were at last overthrown, and the Turks retreated in the greatest disorder.

The grand-master, being resolved not to quit his post, thanked the knights for the interest they had taken in his safety. "Is it possible," added he, "for me, at the age of seventy-one, to die more gloriously than in the midst of my brothers and friends, in the service of God, and in the defence of our holy religion?"

The infidels, as the grand-master had expected, returned the very same night to the assault, which consisted only in firing muskets and cannon; for the Turkish soldiers, disheartened by frequent disappointments, never stirred from their posts, merely striking on their shields, in order to deceive the bashaw; who was not long the dupe of this artifice. Accompanied by his officers, he endeavoured, by entreaties and blows, to induce them to march; but all in vain: he was therefore obliged to defer the continuation of the siege till day appeared. Accordingly, the following morning (August 19), Mustapha, by a general discharge of cannon, gave the signal of assault to the two different besieging parties, and the Turks presented themselves before Fort St. Michael with redoubled ardour. What inspired them with the greatest confidence, was a machine invented by one of their engineers. It was shaped like a long barrel, encircled and covered with iron hoops, and filled with gunpowder, iron chains, nails, and all sorts of grape-shot. A match was fastened to this machine, which passed through the whole of it; and the Turks contrived to let it fall on the ravelin, in the midst of the

knights who defended that post. But these warriors, the moment they perceived the smoking machine, hastily threw it towards the enemy before it had time to take fire ; and great numbers being assembled on the breach to observe its effects, the explosion made dreadful havoc among the besiegers, who were thrown into such confusion that they betook themselves to flight as fast as possible. The attack of Piali on the bulwark of Castille was more dangerous, and continued longer. The infidels at first overthrew all who presented themselves to oppose them, and thus gained the top of the parapet, where they hoisted their colours ; but the cries of the Turks, who thought themselves masters of the fort, were heard by the grand-master, who, being at no great distance, immediately rushed forward, sword in hand, and furiously charged the enemy. Thus exposed to perils, it was impossible he should escape, and he was dangerously wounded in the leg by a splinter from a grenade. During the whole of the action, he took no notice of his wound ; but by words, though indeed still more by his own example, he animated the common soldiers ; who fought with as much courage as their officers, or as men to whom the love of fame was the principal object. The zeal inspired by religion had such an effect on the minds of both peasants and citizens, that it softened the horrors of death. Every one of the combatants displayed equal bravery on this dangerous occasion. Many of the knights gloriously lost their lives in the cause. Succours were continually sent to both parties, during the whole of the action, which by that means lasted till the close of day ; but at length the knights, who fought under the com-

mand of the grand-master, performed such wonderful achievements, that they retook the parapet, and drove off the infidels.

The bashaw, who never gave the smallest respite to his own troops or those of the enemy, returned to the assault the following day (August 20th), at the head of eighty thousand men armed with a kind of morions which reached as low as the shoulders: these were musket-proof; but, though made of a light wood, and rather thin, the soldiers could not support their weight; wherefore, throwing off so inconvenient a covering, they advanced bare-headed, in the most resolute manner, to storm the fort. They were commanded by the sangiac or governor of Bosnia. This old warrior, having promised the bashaw to carry the works, boldly presented himself, clothed in a superb vest, and in every particular most magnificently dressed. He gave orders to the officer who carried the colours to keep them continually hoisted. This officer being almost immediately killed, and the colours consequently laid low, he had them taken up; and though the post was so exposed that the Turks who carried them were successively killed during the assault, they were constantly elevated in view of the enemy; till the last ensign having experienced the same fate as his comrades, the sangiac took them himself, and hoisting them in one hand, whilst he held a sabre in the other, fought with the most determined courage, animating, at the same time, his soldiers to follow his example. The magnificence of his attire, but still more his heroic valour, pointed him out to the enemy; and he was killed by a musket-shot levelled at him by one of La Valette's pages. His

place was instantly taken by a Turkish officer, who earnestly exhorted the soldiers to revenge the death of their general. They consequently at first behaved with great resolution ; but, having a long time disputed the possession of the body of the sangiac, and having carried it off, the Turks, contented with their triumph, quitted the field of battle. Among the various knights of different nations who fell by the hand of the enemy, was the chevalier Lacerda, who, wishing to retrieve his reputation, and make some reparation for the weakness of his conduct at the siege of Fort St. Elmo, had boldly sought his death in many different engagements, and at last died bravely in the breach on this memorable day.

The Turkish soldiers began to be a little disheartened by so many bloody and unsuccessful attacks : the bashaw, therefore, granted them three days rest. A note thrown into the Burgh, in which the word Thursday was written, sufficiently explained the writer's meaning. Accordingly on that day, which was the 23d, fresh assaults were made on Fort St. Michael and the bastion of Castille. These continued till night, and the success was equal on both sides ; but at last the Turks succeeded in making a platform above the parapet of the bulwark of Castille, and their musketeers, continually firing on the besieged, swept away all who appeared either on the breach or the parapet.

In this deplorable situation the council of the order assembled, to deliberate on the measures necessary to be had recourse to. The Burgh was mined on every side, as were the ramparts ; the enemy was in possession of the outworks, and the breach was

blocked up by a kind of cavalier, which touched the wall. The greater number of the grand crosses proposed to La Valette to abandon this post, to blow up the remainder of the fortifications, and, with the ammunition and provisions, to take shelter in time in the Castle St. Angelo, which was still whole and secure. The grand-master rejected this advice with the same sentiments of horror as if it had been proposed to deliver up the island to the infidels. He represented, amongst a variety of other reasons, that the castle of St. Angelo was incapable of containing the soldiers, inhabitants, and different classes of people, who must be removed from the Burgh; that the cistern belonging to the castle would not supply them with water; and that the scarcity of so necessary an article must, in a few days, either expose them to perish from thirst, or force them to open the gates to the Turks. In answer to these representations, the members of the council insisted that the grand-master should take with him their relics and archives, and himself retire to the castle. But the firmness of La Valette was not to be shaken, and he continued constant to his first resolution; thinking, with reason, that, should the most valuable effects of the order be transported to the castle, the soldiers would believe they were no longer safe in the breach. Having, therefore, rejected this second proposal, he added, "This is the place, my brothers, where we must either all perish together, or succeed in driving away our cruel and implacable enemies." With these words he quitted the assembly, and immediately ordered retirades, openings, and intrenchments, to be made behind the damaged places. The above-

mentioned platform alarmed him the most ; but, by the advice of a skilful engineer, he ordered the wall to be opened in the quietest manner possible. This was so ably performed, that they surprised the Turkish soldiers who were upon guard on the spot ; and having taken possession of the platform, fortified it in such a manner that the infidels never dared to make another attack on that side of the fort.

CHAP. X.

The last Assault is made on the 7th of September. The Bashaw, being apprehensive of a Famine, and a Scarcity of Ammunition, makes an unsuccessful Attempt on the Old City. The besieged receive Reinforcements. The Troops land, and the Turks immediately re-embark. The Bashaw gives Orders for them to return and land a second Time ; when they are beaten by the newly-arrived Troops. The Raising of the Siege occasions universal Joy among the Christian Powers. La Valette receives Presents and Congratulations from different Princes. The Arsenal at Constantinople is burned by Order of the Grand-Master, who lays the Foundation of the City La Valetta. Ceremonies observed on the Occasion. Several Spanish Knights revolt. Their Trial and Escape. A Florentine murders his Wife, but escapes the Punishment due to his Crime. The Pope's vexatious and unjust Conduct towards the Order. Death of La Valette. Honours paid his Remains. Peter De Monte succeeds him as Grand-Master.

THE bashaw continued to attack Fort St. Michael without the smallest intermission (1565); and his troops seized upon almost all its bastions, after each party had fought a considerable time with equal fury. The invincible courage displayed by the knights at last overcame the obstinate tenacity of the Turks; and the bashaw had no other hope remaining than to reduce by famine those whom neither artifice nor force could succeed in conquering. The bashaw, however, soon learned that he had more cause to apprehend a famine than the knights, his commissary of stores having informed

him that the stock of flour would be expended in twenty-five days ; and, to add to his alarm, the artillery-officers declared they were on the point of wanting gunpowder. In this perilous situation, fearing the sultan would punish him with death for having failed in this expedition, he resolved to make a last effort, and attack the City Notable ; flattering himself that, should he succeed in his attempt, and carry off the inhabitants in chains, so splendid a victory would soften Solyman in his favour.

In pursuance of this determination he left the camp on the last of August, accompanied by four thousand Janissaries and spahis. The fort having been described to him as weakly fortified, he hoped to carry it by scalade : but the strength of a place consists less in bulwarks and bastions, than in the valour of the troops, and the skill of the generals who command in it. The commander, Musquito, the same brave Portugeze who had surprised the Turkish hospital, was governor of the city ; and, though his troops were few, he affected to appear proud and resolute. The ramparts were lined with cannon and soldiers ; and the latter seemed more numerous, from their being joined, not only by the inhabitants of the country, but by several women in men's clothes. This formidable appearance alarmed the bashaw's engineers, who unanimously declared it would be impossible to attempt a scalade against a fortress so completely furnished with troops and artillery ; upon which the bashaw, incensed and grieved at his disappointment, returned to the camp, not knowing what to resolve, nor where he could possibly renew his attacks. He had, indeed, but one resource

left, which was in a very high wooden tower, contrived by his engineers. This was placed upon rollers, and pushed to the very edge of the breach at Fort St. Michael. During the night a port-hole was opened in the wall, immediately opposite to the breach, where a culverin was placed charged with chain-shot ; but this piece broke after the first discharge, and was very soon entirely destroyed.

The viceroy of Sicily set sail with his fleet on the 1st of September. The general rendezvous was at the small isle of Linosa, where the viceroy found letters from La Valette, to inform him, that, towards Mugiario, and the flat shore of Melecha, the landing was safe, and the bottom sound. The wind became very high in the night, which, joined to rain, thunder, and lightning, separated the van-guard from the rest of the fleet. The viceroy put back to Sicily, and ordered his troops to disembark ; but a tumult arose among the soldiers, who noisily insisted on again setting sail. The officers were not displeased that these men should thus boldly be the interpreters of their sentiments on this occasion. The viceroy presently read in their countenances what passed in their hearts ; of which indeed it was very easy to judge, by the profound silence they maintained in the midst of a tumult raised by soldiers under their command : he therefore yielded to the general wish, and they re-embarked on the 6th of September. The same day, in the afternoon, the fleet came in sight of Malta, and, on entering the straits or canal of Goza, the soldiers, and indeed the whole crew, made the air echo with their acclamations of joy. The viceroy not choosing to risk a descent in the evening, much less during the night, com-

manded the fleet to cast anchor (September 7), and to ride near the small islands of Cumin and Cumino. The next morning the vessels entered the creek or cove of Melecha, where they disembarked the troops, arms, provisions, and ammunition, with every thing that could contribute to the relief of Malta; but the viceroy merely landed to take a survey of the whole, and, after having seen the re-inforcement begin its march towards the City Notable, he, according to the orders he had received from the king of Spain, returned to Sicily.

Mustapha and Piali having always judged, from the information of their spies, that the viceroy intended to attack the Ottoman fleet, and bring in his supplies at the Great Port, had employed all their marine forces in that place; had blocked up the entrance by a chain composed of sail-yards, stakes, and boats; and, from the moment the Christian fleet first appeared off Linosa, the Turkish admiral and all his fleet held themselves constantly in readiness to weigh their last anchor in order to defend it. But when they learnt that the supplies had been landed in an entirely different part of the island, they, without inquiring into the number of the newly-arrived troops, precipitately raised the siege, recalled their garrison from Fort St. Elmo, leaving behind them even their heavy artillery, and immediately re-embarked with a dispatch that had the appearance of absolute flight.

No sooner had the bashaw entered his vessel, than he felt ashamed of the sudden panic with which he had been seized. Trembling for his head, and dreading the reproaches of the sultan for re-

treating before so feeble an enemy, he called a council of war, when a majority of only two voted for a new disembarkation. The bashaw, incensed against himself for having so suddenly raised the siege, courageously vowed either to conquer or die ; choosing rather to lose his life at the head of his few remaining troops, than, by returning unsuccessfully into his country, to risk perishing by the hand of an executioner. He therefore immediately landed ; but his troops, fatigued and harassed by so long and bloody a siege, were very unwilling to follow his example ; and it became necessary to tear them (if I may so express myself) by force from their vessels. The Turks marched towards the City Notable, where they hoped to fall in with the Christians ; whilst the viceroy of Algiers remained on the sea-shore, with fifteen hundred men, in order to facilitate their retreat and re-embarkation in case of failure. La Vallette acquainted the newly-arrived Christian troops with the motions of the enemy ; and it was taken into consideration, whether they should advance towards the infidels, or wait their arrival in the advantageous situation in which they had intrenched themselves. The general advised the latter plan ; but the majority voted for the attack. The Maltese battalion therefore immediately began their march towards the enemy ; whom La Sande, an officer of distinguished reputation, at the head of the knights, suddenly and briskly charged ; whilst Ascagne de la Come, commander of the newly-arrived troops, whose opinion had been given in favour of the defensive plan, sufficiently proved that those who are sometimes accused of too much circumspection in council, are not the least valiant in the field ; for

he took the field with the knights, and undauntedly exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

The victory was long deciding ; for the Turkish soldiers, who had been so forcibly dragged into action, so far from exerting themselves to obtain the victory, could scarcely be prevailed upon to engage ; and they had no sooner discharged one volley of small-arms, than, being vigorously pressed by the Maltese battalion, they shamefully betook themselves to flight. The bashaw, thus abandoned, and fearing being taken by the enemy, was under the cruel necessity, notwithstanding his exemplary courage, of following his cowardly troops. Twice he fell from his horse, and twice he must have fallen into the hands of the Christians, had not some of his officers, at the risk of their lives or their liberty, steadily assisted him, and given him time to re-seat himself in his saddle. The knights pursued the infidels with the greatest spirit ; but they were so inebriated with success, that they no longer preserved either ranks or order, and threw off their cuirasses, to enable them more speedily to overtake the fugitives. On arriving at the place where the Turks were to embark, the viceroy of Algiers, who was in ambuscade behind the point of a rock, rushed out at the head of his troops, and finding the knights and Christian soldiers in disorder, fell upon them with great fury, killed several, and took others prisoners. Fortunately for the Christians, De Sande arrived with some battalions during the combat. These rushed headlong among the Algerines, carrying all before them, and released the prisoners. The Turks, thus situated, had no other resource than to embark as speedily as possible. A new

kind of battle took place ; and, in order to favour the retreat of the Turks, Piali, their admiral, kept up a constant fire from his ships. But the fury of the Christian soldiers was so great, that they pursued the fugitives into the sea, and killed a great number of them.

The admiral having embarked the poor remains of his own formidable army, set sail and proceeded towards Sicily. The viceroy seeing the fleet from the top of the castle of Syracuse, learnt, without the information of a courier, the happy effects of the assistance he had afforded, and the raising of the siege.

La Valette no sooner perceived the first embarkation of the infidels, than he instantly filled up their trenches, and destroyed all their works. Every one of the inhabitants, men, women, children, and even the knights, were indiscriminately employed night and day on this occasion ; and that with the pleasure and dispatch of prisoners who wish to escape from captivity. In the mean time the grand-master placed a garrison in Fort St. Elmo ; and the Turks had the grief and mortification to see, from their ships, the ensigns of St. John waving in the wind.

Thus ended this memorable siege, in which twenty-five thousand infidels were slain ; and two hundred and sixty knights, together with more than seven thousand soldiers and inhabitants, fell victims to the Christian cause. In fact, at the moment when the Turks departed, there scarcely remained six hundred effective men, including the knights in the Burgh ; and even the greatest part of that number were severely wounded. The newly-arrived troops retired near the City Notable, in order to refresh themselves after the

flight of the infidels; and, during their stay in that place, the principal chiefs, together with all the knights belonging to that army, proceeded to the Burgh, to pay their compliments to La Valette, who, with the knights and all the inhabitants, gratefully received them as their deliverers from the most imminent danger. The knights embraced each other with marks of the greatest friendship and tenderness; but, when they reflected on the cruel loss they had sustained in the most illustrious and bravest members of the order; when they considered the deplorable state of the besieged fortresses, the ruined walls and fortifications—the artillery mostly dismounted—the houses either thrown down or shaken in their foundations—the magazines emptied of powder, provisions, and ammunition—the inhabitants pale and disfigured by fatigue—the knights and the grand-master himself unshaved, dishevelled, their dress dirty and disordered; the greatest part having never taken off their clothes for months; many indeed of these brave warriors still appearing with bandages on wounds so honourably obtained;—when, I say, all these affecting images presented themselves to their imagination, they reciprocally shed tears, and not only wept at the remembrance of their misfortunes, but for joy that at last Malta was saved. In order to commemorate the great actions so lately performed, the Burgh, which had been the principal theatre of the war, was called *Citta Vittoriosa*, or the Victorious City, which name it has ever since preserved.

The intelligence of the siege of Malta being raised, was quickly

spread throughout Christendom, and occasioned universal joy. It was announced at Rome by a general discharge of cannon from the castle of St. Angelo, and celebrated by bonfires and illuminations. The same rejoicings took place all over Italy, Sicily, and Spain; and the different sovereigns of Europe hastened to congratulate La Valette on so brilliant a victory. The king of Spain presented him with a sword and a poniard, the hilt of which was of gold enriched with diamonds. When Philip II. sent him this present, he gave orders to his envoy to address the grand-master in full council, and to assure him that the king his master regarded him as one of the greatest captains of the age, entreating him to make use of those arms in defence of the whole Christian world.

Pope Pius IV. made him an offer of a cardinal's hat, as the most distinguished favour he could possibly bestow. D'Aubusson, the glorious defender of Rhodes, had formerly accepted it. But even this example had no weight with La Valette, who refused the proffered dignity; alleging, as a reason, that he feared confounding together the grand-mastership and the cardinalship. "These two great titles," added he, "require different functions; which, instead of supporting, will continually interfere with each other."—It appears that La Valette, justly considering himself as an independent sovereign, thought it derogatory to so high a title to accept an inferior dignity.

These flattering marks of favour from so many sovereigns, did not, however, prevent the grand-master from entertaining just ap-

prehensions for the future. Intelligence received from the East, announced, that the grand-seignor, incensed at the failure of his troops under the command of his generals, had declared, that he would place himself at the head of a formidable army, and attack Malta the following spring. Those who reflect on the deplorable situation of that island when abandoned by the Turks, will easily conceive it in almost as great danger as during the siege. Added to the misfortunes already enumerated, the country was nearly depopulated, most of the casals or villages burned, the cisterns drained, and no money left either to buy provisions or repair the ravages occasioned by the siege. But what rendered the case most desperate was, that very few soldiers, and still fewer knights, remained: indeed their number was insufficient to defend the island against the attack of the most inconsiderable army.

In this cruel situation, many of the members of the council were of opinion that the most prudent measure would be to evacuate Malta. But La Valette, elated by the glory he had obtained in its defence, declared he would sooner be buried in the ruins than consent to abandon it. In this dreadful dilemma he had but one resource left, which indeed nothing but such desperate circumstances could justify, and which many generals would have scrupled to employ. Solyman, he well knew, would never attempt to attack Malta without a most formidable fleet: he therefore caused the arsenal at Constantinople to be burned to the ground, and thus destroyed a great number of vessels intended for this expedition. The person charged with this enterprise remained long in-

cognito; and the order reaped the advantage of so daring an attempt*.

The grand-master having no longer any thing to apprehend from Solyman, at least in the ensuing campaign, resolved to take advantage of this respite to re-build the fortifications so completely ruined by the Turks. He was very well aware of the importance of the situation of Fort St. Elmo, and therefore immediately began to repair it; but, it having been represented to him as much too small, he resolved to enlarge it, and add several new works; as also to build a town on the same point of land, which should be fortified in the strongest manner that art could effect. When this war should be finished, he meant to transfer the convent thither, and make it the principal place of residence for the knights, who would undoubtedly be much more secure there than in the Burgh, which was commanded on all sides by the surrounding hills and rocks. The most powerful assistance, however, was necessary to complete so great an undertaking; and La Valette sent deputies with the plan of this new town to all the Christian princes, who unanimously expressed their approbation of it. The pope promised to contribute fifteen thousand crowns, and the king of France a hundred and forty thousand French livres, to be paid from the tenths or tithes of his kingdom. Philip II. granted ninety thousand French livres, and the king of Portugal thirty thousand crusadoes. Most of the

* An historian asserts, that the burning of the arsenal at Constantinople was by way of reprisal; Selim II., the son of Solyman, having caused the arsenal at Venice to be set fire to before the beginning of the war.

commanders, nobly disinterested, stripped themselves of their property, and even of their most valuable moveables, the profits from which they sent to Malta.

La Valette, thus generously assisted, sent for engineers and other workmen from different parts of Italy ; and, the foundation having been marked out, this prince, in his grand habit of ceremony, accompanied by the council and the whole of the knights, proceeded to Mount Sceberras, and there laid the foundation-stone * of the new CITY, on which was engraven in Latin the decree of the council, conceived in the following terms : “The most illustrious, most reverend brother, lord John de la Valette, grand-master of the hospitaller and military order of St. John of Jerusalem, considering the danger to which the knights and the people of Malta were exposed from the infidels during the late siege, has, with the consent of the council, and in order to oppose any fresh enterprises formed by these barbarians, decided to build a city on Mount Sceberras ; and on this day, the 28th of March, in the year of our Lord 1566, after having called upon the holy name of God, and implored the intercession of the holy Virgin mother, together with that of St. John the Baptist, tutelar patron of the order, to draw down the benediction

* The first stone of the City Valetta was laid and filled up with mortar by the grand-master himself, on the Point of St. John's Bulwark. Under this stone he deposited a variety of gold, silver, and copper medals, with inscriptions ; the best of which was *Immotam Colli dedit*. The conventual conservator distributed sequins, golden crowns, and silver coin, of two, three, four, and six-tarin pieces, with the grand-master's effigy, among the people. This expense amounted daily to fifteen hundred or two thousand crowns.

of Heaven on so important an undertaking, the sovereign lord grand-master has laid the first stone, on which are engraven his arms (a lion or, in a field gules); and the new city is by his command to be named the City la Valetta."

In order to preserve to the latest posterity the remembrance of so important an event, a great number of gold and silver medals were thrown among the foundation-stones. These represented the new city, with the following inscription, *Melita renascens*. On the exergue were engraven the day and year when it was founded.

This ceremony was followed by the most assiduous application to the completion of the work. Every one, without distinction of rank, was employed on the occasion, and that with an eagerness and pleasure inspired by the hope of speedily finishing an undertaking on which the public safety so materially depended. In this military republic, all regarded themselves as concerned; and the grand-master himself, during a space of two years, never neglected to overlook the workmen. He passed whole days in this employment; and not only took his meals like a common artisan, but gave audience and issued out orders in the midst of the workmen.

The commander De la Fontaine, celebrated for his skill in fortifications, was the principal director and superintendant of these works; but the want of money to carry them on was soon sensibly felt. The order, therefore, to supply this deficiency, caused copper to be coined, and annexed a different value to the pieces, according to the size into which they were cut. On one side were represented two hands clasped together, and the other bore the arms of La Va-

lette, quartered with those of the order, with the following legend—*non aes, sed fides*. The punctuality with which payment was made the moment money was received from the continent, established so perfect a confidence among the people, that they never made the smallest complaint against the circulation of this copper coin; nor were the works ever discontinued, nor at any time in the least neglected.

The last moments of La Valette were, like those of his predecessor L'Isle Adam, embittered by intestine troubles in the convent, and by exterior vexations relative to the preservation of the possessions of the order. Some young Spanish knights, intoxicated with joy at the Turks being defeated, allowed themselves the most improper liberty of conduct. They lived in a very irregular manner, and even ventured to write satirical songs against the reputation, not only of the bravest knights, but of the principal ladies of Malta. These songs were soon publicly known, and complaints made to the grand-master, who, being a strict disciplinarian, was very justly incensed at such excesses; he therefore immediately commanded the council and the principal officers of the order to take cognisance of the affair. The authors of these defamatory libels were discovered, and an action brought against them. Whilst the proceedings were carrying on with great activity in full council, these unruly youths, without the smallest respect for the grand-master, who acted as president, rushed in crowds into the council, and snatching the pen, with which he was writing the sentence passed on the culprits, from the vice-chancellor's hand, threw his inkstand out of the win-

dow. This done, these headstrong youths, being favoured in their retreat by their friends and some other unknown accomplices, precipitately quitted the hall, reached the sea-shore, embarked in light feluccas, and escaped into Sicily. La Valette, irritated at such a scandalous act of rebellion, deprived them of the habit of the order, and ordained, that, in case they should be apprehended, they should suffer perpetual imprisonment. He likewise sent to Sicily to reclaim them as deserters and rebels. But they were too well acquainted with the firm and inflexible character of the grand-master to remain in that island; they therefore contrived to return as fast as possible to their own country.

The effects of this disagreeable affair, which afforded so dangerous an example to the knights, were not entirely suppressed when La Valette had fresh cause for affliction. A Florentine, settled in Malta, having married a most beautiful young woman, a descendant of one of the faithful Rhodians who had followed L'Isle Adam from that island, instigated by the dæmon of jealousy, assassinated his wife; and, notwithstanding the greatest precautions were taken, made his escape from the hand of justice into Italy; that is to say, into a country where murders of that nature were more frequently winked at than punished.

The pope, who had so lately offered the cardinal's hat to La Valette, and who had also by different briefs promised never to interfere with the order in the enjoyment of their rights, when the grand-priory of Rome became vacant, made no scruple of bestowing it on his nephew. The grand-master complained with reason of

such an open violation of his rights made by his holiness ; who, together with his ministers, pretended to think that La Valette had not been sufficiently moderate in his expressions. The court of Rome, therefore, to mortify and punish him, added outrage to injustice, and forbade the ambassador of the order to appear there in future.

Such a succession of vexatious circumstances greatly afflicted La Valette, and threw him into a profound melancholy. Wishing to divert his mind, he amused himself by hunting : but this amusement proved a fatal one ; for he was struck one day by what in those climates is called a *coup de soleil*, and, after an illness of three weeks, he breathed his last ; and thus ended in the most peaceful manner a life which had been spent in all the tumults of war *.

Peter de Monte, who succeeded him as grand-master, was especially attentive to performing the last duties towards his predecessor, whose remains were first deposited in the church of *Notre Dame de Phileme*. They afterwards, by command of the whole order, were placed on board the admiral's galley, which was disarmed and dismasted, and thus towed by two armed galleys hung with black cloth. The banners, standards, and arms, taken from the Turks and other infidels whom he had conquered, were likewise towed by the same galleys, and suffered to drag through the water. These were followed by two other galleys, which had parti-

August 22, 1568.

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cularly belonged to La Valette, covered also with black cloth and other sepulchral ornaments.

The reigning grand-master, the lords of the council, the commanders, and the principal knights, embarked on board these two galleys; and thus, in funeral pomp, this dismal train left the Grand Port, and proceeded to that of Marsa Musceit, where the household of the deceased—consisting of his officers and domestics—in deep mourning, landed the first. The greatest part of them carried flambeaux, and the rest the colours taken from the Turks. These were followed by the clergy bearing the body, and chaunting the service of the church; and, immediately after, the grand-master, the members of the council, and the majority of the knights. The body of La Valette was thus carried to the church della Vittoria erected at his own expense in the city La Valetta, and there, according to his request, he was interred. His remains were consigned to the grave with all the usual ceremonies of the church, and every honour paid him due to the memory of so great a man.

BOOK II.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY LA VALETTA, TO THE
ELECTION OF THE GRAND-MASTER ROHAN, 1775.

CHAPTER I.

The City La Valetta completed by the Grand-Master, Peter de Monte, and made the Residence of the Order. Most of the Galleys destroyed. Battle of Lepanto. The celebrated Monastery of the Hospitaller Nuns of Sixena, in the Kingdom of Arragon, return to their Obedience under the Order of St. John. Origin of that Monastery. De La Cassiere Grand-Master—His Character. Disturbances fomented by the Inquisitors. Patents granted. Pretensions of the Bishops of Malta. The Officers of the Holy Brotherhood accused of having attempted to murder the Grand-Master. Misunderstanding between Malta and the Republic of Venice. The Knights begin to make Complaints against the Grand-Master. Spanish Knights punished.

PETER DE MONTE was extremely anxious to complete the city La Valetta, and for that purpose not only attended himself to the works, but contributed to the expenses out of his own private property. The whole was finished three years after the death of La Valette (1571). The convent was removed to the new city; and it became from that time the seat of government.

It was during this mastership that the squadron of galleys was surprised by Ucciali (1570), a celebrated corsair, whose forces

being much superior to those of the order, attacked and took three galleys; he also ran the admiral's galley aground at the foot of the tower of Manchiaro in Sicily. This fatal event greatly diminished the squadron of the order, which, at the battle of Lepanto (1571), only consisted of three galleys. They fought, however, most gloriously on that memorable day. The St. Stephen was closely attacked by three Turkish galleys, and was in the greatest danger of being taken; but the admiral's galley fortunately came to her assistance, and soon forced two of the enemy's vessels to strike. The third was on the point of doing the same, when Ucciali brought up four other galleys, and a most bloody action took place, in which the Bailli de Spar, commander of the land forces, was slain, and the admiral's galley fell at last into the hands of the infidels, who immediately brought forward their seven shattered galleys, and towed her off in triumph. Their success was, however, of short duration; for the cruel fate of the admiral's galley inspired the knights and their crews with fresh courage, and they attacked Ucciali with redoubled fury. The vessel was defended with obstinacy, and attacked with unparalleled perseverance; nor was the banner of St. John once more hoisted on the admiral's galley, till Ucciali had seen the bravest of his men drop by his side, and been informed of the death of his lieutenant Caragiali. The Turks lost thirty thousand men in that celebrated battle; their general was killed; two of his sons taken prisoners; together with five thousand officers and soldiers. Twenty thousand Christians were liberated from slavery. The infidels also lost a hundred and forty galleys, independent of

those which were either burnt or sunk. The loss of the Christians was computed at seven thousand six hundred men, and fourteen captains of galleys.

Peter de Monte had the satisfaction, before he died, to see his authority acknowledged by the royal convent of Hospitaller Dames at Sixena, who had for a considerable time disowned any dependence on the order. I will, in this place, give some account of the illustrious origin of this institution, which was undoubtedly one of the most celebrated of the kind in Europe.

Sancha, the daughter of Alphonso king of Castille, was the wife of Alphonso II., surnamed the Chaste, king of Arragon. This noble dame, cruelly afflicted by the loss of the Holy Land, and hearing of the dispersion and misfortunes of its inhabitants, founded a monastery, in her dominions, of noble ladies of the order of St. John, to preserve the memory of so many illustrious knights who had so lately perished by the troops of Saladin. Her daughter, another queen Sancha, founded likewise a monastery of Hospitallers at Sixena, a small town between Saragossa and Lerida. This institution was dependent on the grand-prior of Arragon; and the house she built for the purpose had much more the appearance of a palace than of a nunnery. She indeed imagined it might in future serve for a retreat, not only for herself, but for other princesses of the royal family: she therefore attended extremely to the convenience and magnificence of the building, to the extent of the inclosure, and particularly to ensuring a large and certain revenue to the order. Sixty noble young ladies were, according to the rules of the founda-

tion, to be received without portions into this royal convent; and those from the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia were to be of such acknowledged illustrious descent as not to be required to adduce proofs of their nobility.

The monastery at Sixena soon became the most celebrated in the kingdom. The king endowed it with great riches; and pope Celestin III. subjected it, equally with the Hospitallers, to the rules of the Augustine order. The habit was either a scarlet or dark-red robe, with a black mantle *abec*, on which was a white cross with eight points, worn on the side next the heart: in church they appeared with fine lawn sleeves; and, in remembrance of their foundress the queen, they held a silver sceptre in their hand during divine service. The prioress had the right of presenting to vacant benefices, and had even the power of giving the habit of obedience to the priests who officiated in the chapel. She appeared at the provincial chapters of the order in Arragon, where she had a vote, and where she took her seat immediately after the grand-prior or castellan of *emposta*.

Queen Sancha, with one of her daughters, retired into this monastery after the death of her husband; and some historians say they both took the veil. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, this community, which had always prospered and shone forth in the greatest splendor, according to its original regulations, chose to withdraw itself from under the government and particular discipline of the grand-masters, and place itself under that of the pope; but, in 1569, Dame Hieronyma d'Olibo, grand-prioress of this royal founda-

tion, with the consent of all the Hospitaller nuns, returned to their obedience, and acknowledged the authority of the order of St. John. Having thus resolved to hold no longer of the holy see, they wrote their intentions to Malta, where this intelligence was received with the greater joy from its being unexpected.

La Cassiere, though seventy years old, succeeded Peter De Monte * as grand-master. He owed his elevation to this high dignity, to his valour—the services he had rendered the order—his piety, and his prudence; notwithstanding which, his reign was far from tranquil and happy; for, with these great virtues, he had considerable faults in his character, to which indeed he principally owed all his misfortunes. He was obstinate, harsh, and violent; and, in the transports of passion, he did not scruple making use of improper expressions, and speaking in a very injurious manner against the most distinguished knights of the order; he had therefore many powerful intestine enemies to cope with, who, indeed, very frequently conspired against him. One of the most dangerous, both to him and his successors, was the inquisitor.

In former times the sovereign council of the order alone took cognisance of every thing relating to articles of faith and religion in general. This authority, so legitimate in the hand of a sovereign, had been frequently attacked by the bishops of Malta. The order, justly offended, applied to the pope for redress. Gregory XIII., who at that time (1574) occupied St. Peter's chair, agreed to send

* Died the 26th of June, 1572.

an inquisitor to Malta, who should decide to what lengths the bishop's jurisdiction should extend. The council of the order, to preserve its authority, exacted a promise from the sovereign pontiff, that the officer sent from the court of Rome should never act but in conjunction with the grand-master, the bishop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor of the order; by which means this new tribunal was divided between the inquisitor and the principal officers of the state. But this prudent arrangement lasted a very short time. The inquisitors, as will be seen in the course of this history, from a spirit of emulation so common among themselves, and on pretence of maintaining the authority of the holy see, contrived to get fresh assessors; and, in order to become absolute in their tribunal, endeavoured to establish a degree of dominion in the island; and frequently struggled hard to make it supercede the legitimate one. To effect this purpose, they pursued the following method: Any Maltese who was desirous of throwing off the authority of the order, might address himself to the office of the inquisition, which immediately presented him with a brevet of independence, to which was given the name of patent. Those who took out this patent were called the patentees of the inquisition; which implied, that, in consequence of the said patent, they, and all their family, were under the immediate protection of the holy see: so that, in all causes, either civil or criminal, the patentee was first tried in Malta, by the tribunal of the inquisition; and, if the condemned party thought proper to make a last appeal to the court of Rome, he was there tried a second time, by a tribunal called *la Rotta*: their persons, too,

were secure ; and the government of the order could neither commit them to prison, nor punish them in any manner whatsoever.

The bishop also took upon himself to have a separate jurisdiction ; and a simple tonsure given to a Maltese made him independent of the grand-master : by which means all priests, and even the above-mentioned shavelings, were only amenable to justice at the bishop's private tribunal ; which, equally with the inquisition, pronounced in all civil and criminal causes relative to these privileged persons ; who likewise might appeal from the sentence passed by the tribunal, either to the archiepiscopal see of Palermo, or to Rome. All these people wore the habit of ecclesiastics ; and it became, at last, difficult in Malta, to distinguish betwixt a priest and the father of a family.

Brother Gargalla, bishop of Malta, and Cressin, the prior of the church, men of restless and turbulent dispositions, were the first to raise the storm, which afterwards burst over the head of the grand-master, their common benefactor.

The first laid claim to the privilege of making the juridical visit to the hospital in the City Notable ; but the managers, who acknowledged no other authority than that of the grand-master, refused him entrance ; upon which they were excommunicated by the bishops. They were supported in this act by the clergy, who made a collection among themselves to defray the expenses of the necessary steps to be taken, in order to bring the affair before the archbishop of Palermo. This was, however, attended by much difficulty,

and at last referred to the holy see (1579). The people thus privileged by the bishop, took up arms, and so cruelly treated the citizens who persisted in their obedience to their legitimate sovereigns, that the order, to suppress such disorders, found it necessary to appoint a guard consisting of fifty men.

The inquisition carried its evil designs against the grand-master to much greater lengths; and three of the holy brotherhood being apprehended, confessed that they had formed a plan to poison La Cassiere, and immediately accused many of the Spanish and Italian knights as their accomplices. The latter entered the council-hall in the most tumultuous manner, and openly insulted the grand-master. Without the smallest respect for his dignified situation, they enjoined him to state the proofs of their having conspired against his life, and insisted that the order should send an ambassador to the pope to demand justice. The knights, unwilling to engage in so troublesome and difficult a business, made use of a variety of pretences to avoid the journey; and the wrath and animosity of the most violent being at last softened by time, all thoughts of the embassy were entirely relinquished.

Whilst so many intestine disputes disturbed the peace of the convent, the republic of Venice was very near declaring war against Malta. This was occasioned by some goods, of very little value, the property of Jews settled in the Venetian territories, having been seized on board some vessels taken by the order. But this affair was soon accommodated, and Malta forgot the vexatious conduct of the republic, and never failed to afford it all possible as-

sistance, by sending continual succours to Candia, one of the finest of the Venetian possessions.

Selim II. was so busily employed in making considerable preparations for war (1574), that Malta had reason to tremble for its safety. Though proper means were employed to put it in a state of defence, yet the malcontents reproached the grand-master and council with an inactivity very prejudicial to the interests of the order. They however learnt, a short time afterwards, that the Turkish emperor had turned his arms against the fort of Goletta and Tunis, of which he had taken possession.

The archduke Winceslas, a prince of the house of Austria, of the German branch, had obtained (1577), through the interest of the king of Spain, the grand priory of Castille and Leon, together with the bailiwick of Lora, on the condition of his taking the vows. The grand-master and council thought it impossible to refuse ratifying the appointment of the king of Spain, who had granted such powerful protection to the order. This favour, however, might very well be attended by disagreeable consequences, and it was certainly a prelude to the discontent which broke out afterwards (1578). The Castillian knights complained in the strongest terms against the grand-master and the council, for having consented to the nomination of the archduke to such considerable benefices, which they regarded as an act of great injustice to every individual of their language. These malcontents were secretly encouraged by several of the grand-crosses, who likewise fomented the sedition. The grand-master was forced, in this dilemma, to have

recourse to the pope, who cited the rebellious knights to appear before him. They acknowledged their fault ; but, on pretence of their having neither commanderies, private fortune, nor indeed any thing to enable them to undertake such a journey, the grand-master obtained a dispensation from the pope. They, however, were obliged to present themselves before him and the whole council, with wax tapers in their hands, thus to repair their fault in full assembly, and to ask pardon for their conduct. This was granted them, after having received a severe reprimand from La Cassiere.

These were not the only disorders which called for punishment ; others of a much more atrocious nature took place. Six Portuguese knights, masked, and wearing false beards, entered the house of one of their countrymen, the chevalier Carreras, and barbarously murdered him. So dreadful a crime did not, however, long remain unpunished. They were presently discovered, apprehended, delivered over to secular justice, and sentenced to be put into a sack and thrown alive into the sea ; which sentence was immediately carried into execution.

CHAP. II.

Insurrection of the Knights against the Grand-Master. The Spanish Knights discovered to be the Promoters of the Rebellion. Romegas at the Head of the Insurgents—His Character. Atrocious Conduct of the Prior of the Church. The Viceroy of Sicily interferes in the intestine Divisions of the Convent. The Knights assemble, depose the Grand-Master, and appoint Romegas Lieutenant of the Master-ship. Imprisonment of the Grand-Master—Charges brought against him—He refuses the friendly Offers made him by the General of the Galleys. The Rebels send Ambassadors to Rome; whither the Grand-Master contrives to transmit a Letter. The King of France insists that the Affair shall be brought before the Pope. La Cassiere refuses to accept his Liberty till he shall be made acquainted with the Pope's Decision.

THESE repeated disturbances (1581)*, far from appeasing the minds of the public, served only to add to the general discontent, and were indeed only a prelude to more serious troubles. The Spa-

* There is a very interesting note by Mr. Sauserre of this affair, which may be seen in the thirteenth volume of "Literary Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres." The principal facts are taken from dispatches sent by Mons. de Foix, archbishop of Toulouse, at that time ambassador from Henry III. to the court of Rome. This was printed in quarto, at Paris, in 1628. All the histories of Malta, before that published by Vertot, are silent on the subject; for none of them treat of facts posterior to that memorable epoch when the siege was raised in 1565. The abbé Vertot concluded his at the death of La Valette, in 1569, and only added a summary account of the annals of the order from that time to 1725. He has, however, related the revolt against La Cassiere in a more particular manner,

niards were principally concerned in fomenting the sedition. They had gained over to their party the Italian knights, who seduced the Germans; and had even contrived to sow division among the French, and engage a part of them in their cause.

Mathurin Lescat de Romegas, a French knight, was in high estimation with the order, not only on account of his great personal valour, but because he occupied many very important posts: he was prior of Toulouse and Ireland, and made general of the galleys in 1575. He was a very able seaman, and his name inspired terror as far as the Levant; but his ambition was unbounded; and, though brave and fortunate in his expeditions, he was fierce and cruel towards his enemies. The Spaniards found it an easy task to corrupt a man of this character, by flattering him with the hopes of becoming grand-master, though it was far from their intention to raise him to that dignity; for what advantage could they reap by deposing one Frenchman to place another at the head of the order? The Spaniards were strongly united among themselves; and their sole desire was to sow discord among the French, that they might profit from the general confusion. Romegas, therefore, blinded by ambition, contributed to forward the secret designs of the wary Spaniards, without having the smallest suspicion of their real intentions: he, however, though certainly at the head of the conspiracy, did not

and in a more elegant style, than is requisite in "Summary Annals," which title he gave to this part of his history; yet of the consequences of this affair he says nothing. M. De Thou may also be blamed for the same neglect—(see his History, book xiv.); his relation of these facts being concise and inaccurate.

openly declare himself against the grand-master ; but four other knights, who acted in concert with him, publicly avowed their designs. Cressin, prior of the church, had been named to that dignity by La Cassiere ; but on this occasion he proved himself his benefactor's bitterest enemy. Many different reasons contributed to incense the factious part of the community against the grand-master ; who had with great justice forbidden the knights of the different languages to show any partiality towards their respective sovereigns. This prohibition was meant to repress the pride and ambition of the Spaniards, who, elated with the high degree of power to which Charles V. had raised the house of Austria, wished and intended to make the order at large subservient to its sovereign authority : added to this, La Cassiere, with still more propriety, had banished all courtesans from the suburbs, and city La Valetta, and commanded them either to retire to those villages which were situated at the greatest distance from the convent, or entirely to quit the island. Strange as it may appear, some among the elder knights made use of this well-judged prohibition to irritate the younger against the grand-master : so true it is, that, in all conspiracies, every method which leads to success becomes justifiable, and is quickly adopted by the head of a party.

Some of the grand-crosses, who aspired to the grand-mastership, perceiving that, notwithstanding the great age of La Cassiere, he continued to enjoy perfect health, and might probably outlive them, determined to depose him, and thus render vacant a dignity they were impatient to possess.

A few days before the revolt took place, the grand-master had,

with the strictest attention to justice, supported the rights and privileges of the language of Auvergne, and of the marshal of the order, who was of that language, in a dispute which had taken place between them and the Italian and Spanish knights relative to the watch-word. His conduct in this affair was represented in a criminal light, as having shown a marked partiality for his own nation. The Spaniards appeared to favour the secret views of their court, which, in order to support its countrymen, had sent, a short time before, three galleys from Sicily, and these were to be followed by five others. The ostensible reason for this assistance was, to protect the island from the insults of the Turks, who had an army at that time in Barbary; but the real one was, to second the Spanish knights in their designs against the grand-master.

The rebels having, as they thought, taken every necessary measure to ensure the success of their plans, held a tumultuous assembly, in which they complained of the government of the grand-master, whom they accused of having dissipated the sacred patrimony of the order—of having neglected its affairs—of leaving the magazines of Malta void of proper stores—and of not maintaining the island in a state of defence against the different enterprises of the Turks and Barbary corsairs. They even impudently pushed their calumny to such great lengths, as to accuse him of secret intelligence with the enemies of the Christian name. They likewise attacked his moral conduct; adding, that it was easy to judge, from all his actions, that his great age made him incapable of governing, and that he always fell asleep in council.

The result of this seditious assembly was, that a deputy was sent

to the grand-master, to propose his naming a lieutenant, on whom might devolve the affairs of government, the weight of which his advanced time of life rendered it impossible for him properly to support. La Cassiere having rejected this insulting proposition, a second assembly was held, at Cressin's apartment. A Siennese knight, at this meeting, gave way to the greatest violence; and even went so far as to declare, that, unless a new grand-master was elected, all the grand-crosses ought to be suppressed. No attention was paid either to his complaints or his threats; and they contented themselves with naming Romegas lieutenant to the grand-mastership. The Spanish faction thought it more prudent to choose this knight than one of their own nation; since, by so doing, they would undoubtedly attach the French more than ever to their cause.

The vice-chancellor signed this resolution of the council, and inserted in it, that it had been made by common consent of all the languages, whose proxies had voted on the occasion; but this was not the case, since some of them had no procuration to this effect; and, among those who had, some were found who opposed the resolution. By this act it was declared, *that the great age and extreme decrepitude of the grand-master* had rendered it necessary for the order to create a lieutenant. But nothing could be more unjust than this representation; for La Cassiere, old as he was, enjoyed such excellent health, that he constantly walked round the town every day. The original act only contained the simple creation of a lieutenant; but this was no longer thought sufficient, and another assembly was held, in which it was ordained, that, in order to ensure the personal

safety of the grand-master, he should be imprisoned in the tower of St. Angelo ; in consequence of which, the conspirators went to the palace, and seized upon La Cassiere, who received them with an intrepid countenance ; and notwithstanding they endeavoured, by threats, to inspire him with terror, did nothing unworthy of his great rank and high dignity, but openly reproached them with their perfidy and rebellion.

They immediately placed him in an open chair, and, surrounded by soldiers, he was carried, like a criminal, to the castle of St. Angelo. To add to this degrading situation, he was exposed, during the whole of the way, to the shouts and insults of the younger knights, and likewise to the bitterest reproaches from the infamous creatures he had banished the city : but such reproaches were the highest encomiums on his conduct ; and, in the eyes of those who formed a just estimation of his character, redounded to his honour.

Two days after his imprisonment, Chabrian, general of the galleys, entered the port. The rebels dared not refuse him permission to visit the grand-master ; and he immediately offered to reinstate him in his dignity and conduct him to his palace ; but the noble-minded old man prudently answered, that he expected to be re-established in his rights by the sovereign pontiff.

The rebels had sent three different ambassadors to Rome, to give an account of their proceedings to the pope, and to ask his approbation of their conduct. The grand-master likewise found means to convey letters to the holy father, and to monsieur De Foix, the French ambassador ; and on the 24th of July all Rome was

acquainted with the late occurrences at Malta. The knights there, though divided in their opinions, were so irritated at this intelligence, that, on the 30th of the same month, the chevalier Bosio, a Piedmontese, slew chevalier Guimarva in St. Peter's-square, and that in the presence of the pope's guards; the cause of their quarrel was the latter's having reproached the former with taking part with the grand-master. Bosio contrived to escape, and was never apprehended.

The pope expressed the greatest indignation against the authors of the imprisonment of La Cassiere, and called (31st of July) a congress of cardinals to take cognisance of the affair. It was resolved that his holiness should dispatch Visconti, auditor of the Rotta, to Malta, to inform himself of all that had passed, and to send the result of his inquiries to Rome. He was also authorised to reinstate the grand-master, if it could possibly be done without exciting sedition.

Visconti having departed for Malta, the knights who had been sent by the rebels to Rome, not being able to follow him, presented an accusation against the grand-master, not only to the pope and cardinals, but to the ambassadors. This contained fifty-three articles, among which was a relation of different affairs wherein they pretended to say that La Cassiere had disobeyed the holy see, and exercised acts of violence against the ministers of his holiness. The grand-master, on his part, sent to the pope, the cardinals, and ambassadors, a memorial in justification of his conduct. In the meantime, Henry III., king of France, who had been informed of the

underhand proceedings of the Spanish court, and who was greatly interested in the affair, wrote to his ambassador, monsieur De Foix, to carry it on with the greatest vigour. He also dispatched the commander De Chasse to Malta, who, immediately on his arrival, communicated to the council the threatening message with which he was charged by the king his master. This greatly alarmed the French knights. The Spanish faction also began to repent the crime they had committed, and quickly re-united themselves to those who had continued faithful to their duty. They proceeded in a body to the grand-master, and supplicated him to re-take the reins of government and to forget what was passed ; but La Cassiere continued firm in his first resolution, and was determined to pursue his design of having his justification made public : he therefore declared he would never quit his prison till the arrival of the pope's nuncio.

C H A P. III.

The Pope's Nuncio arrives in Malta. Departure of the Grand-Master and Romegas for Rome. The Nuncio obliges the Spanish Galleys and Troops to withdraw from Malta. Honours paid the Grand-Master during his Journey to Rome—His triumphant Entry into that City; and his Reception by Cardinal D'Est. The Grand-Master has an Audience of the Pope. The Manner in which the French Ambassador conducts himself on the Occasion. Behaviour of Romegas and his Adherents; one of whom the Cardinal de Montalto addresses in the severest Terms. Romegas, a Prey to Remorse, dies of a Fever. La Cassiere prepares to return to Malta—Is taken ill, and dies—His Obsequies. De Verdale elected to the Grand-Mastership—His Character. The French Ambassador insists that the Memory of La Cassiere shall be publicly vindicated. An Assembly called on the Occasion, in which he is pronounced innocent. The Pope grants Permission to the Grand-Master to name to the Office of Turcopolier. A Misunderstanding takes Place between Venice and Malta. The Knights excluded from filling the Posts of Bishop of Malta and Grand-Prior of St. John's Church. Disturbances in the Convent. A general Chapter held. De Verdale's first Journey to Rome. He is made Cardinal. He returns to Malta, and goes a second Time to Rome. His Death.

THE pope's envoy, Visconti, having travelled through Sicily, did not reach Malta till the 8th of September, 1581, a day on which a solemn festival was held in honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was appointed to be kept by La Valette, to return thanks to Almighty

God for the relief, received on the same day of the month, which had forced the Turks to raise the siege. The nuncio, immediately on his arrival, was applied to for his opinion, whether it would be proper for Romegas, as lieutenant of the mastership, to carry La Valette's sword, as usual, in the procession; but Visconti, who was unwilling to show any partiality to either party, gave orders to have the ceremony postponed to another day.

He spent the first forty-eight hours after his arrival in informing himself very exactly of every thing that had passed; and he found the minds of the public at large so irritated against the grand-master, that it appeared to him impossible to reinstate him in his dignity, according to the orders of the pope, without exposing his own life to the most imminent danger. He therefore thought it more prudent to begin by calling a council, in which he read the pope's brief appointing him nuncio and vicar for the affairs of the order; at the same time commanding the knights to yield him obedience, as the representative of the holy see. The brief was no sooner read, than Romegas resigned to Visconti the lieutenantancy of the mastership, which he assured him he never would have accepted without the express orders of those who had elected him to the office. On the breaking up of the council, the nuncio immediately repaired to the castle St. Angelo, from whence he released the grand-master, re-conducted him to his palace, and presented him with a brief, signifying, that the pope yielded to his wishes of visiting Rome, where he promised him a gracious reception.

La Cassiere embarked for Italy on the 14th of September; but

he was detained by contrary winds at Port St. Paul till the 19th. He was attended in this expedition by three galleys, the marshal of the order, the general of the galleys, and three hundred knights. The nuncio likewise presented a brief to Romegas and his party, which contained a positive order from the pope to repair immediately to Rome. He too, therefore, accompanied by his partisans, among whom were the vice-chancellor and the Siennese knight already mentioned, embarked on board the fourth galley, which the grand-master had left behind, and arrived in the night of the 15th of September. On the 16th he visited the French ambassador, monsieur De Foix, to whom he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct.

No sooner had the grand-master quitted Malta, than Visconti gave orders for all the Spanish troops and galleys to leave the island; but to this, general Pompeo Colonna, the commander, at first objected; alleging that he did not pretend to dispute the nuncio's authority in the government of the order; but, the island of Malta being the property of the king of Spain, he had an undoubted right to guard the fortresses in times of universal confusion. To this the nuncio replied, that the order certainly held the island originally from the generosity of Charles V.; but, in consequence of that gift, it was now become the domain of a body, composed of members taken from the different Christian states; so that his master could have no greater interest in the island than the rest of the European princes, to whom it equally served as the bulwark of Christianity: his subjects, therefore, could not possibly dispense with the obedience they owed the pope, who was the head of all Christian princes.

in general, and of the order of St. John in particular. These arguments had the desired effect ; and the Spaniards left Malta with the greatest reluctance.

The nuncio continued to inquire into all the particulars of the late affair ; after which he wrote to the pope, to acquaint him that the Spaniards were the original authors of the revolt, and had constantly impeded every arrangement towards quelling the troubles ; and even prevented his acting in the manner most conformable to the wishes of his holiness.

The grand-master, who had landed on the Neapolitan coast, was unfortunately taken ill, and obliged to stop at Pousoles, where the viceroy and nuncio waited on him, and induced him to repose himself at Naples. He was lodged in the palace of the former, and treated with every possible mark of respect, both there and in every place through which he passed in his journey to Rome ; where he arrived on the 26th of October, and where he was received, not as a degraded criminal, but as a sovereign prince in the full meridian of his power. The pope had issued orders that he should make his entry with all possible pomp and magnificence ; he had therefore sent directions to the cardinals, and all the ambassadors, that the officers of their respective households should be present : he also commanded twelve bishops, and all the referendaries, to appear on the occasion. Eight hundred knights went forth to meet the grand-master, who rode between the patriarch of Jerusalem and the bishop of Imola, steward of the household to his holiness. He was escorted by the Swiss and horse-guards of the pope ; and, on passing the castle of

St. Angelo, was saluted by a discharge of artillery from the fort. He then alighted at Monte Jordano, the residence of the cardinal D'Est, who, with monsieur De Foix, received him at the top of the stairs. This cardinal was the most magnificent prince of his time. During the whole of the grand-master's stay at Rome, he, with the three hundred knights of his suite, were all lodged with this prince, who defrayed the whole of the expense, and who had more than a thousand persons in his palace.

On the 28th of October, the grand-master, attended by his three hundred knights, went to the pope's audience at the Vatican. His procession thither had all the appearance of a triumphal entry; and he was presented to his holiness by cardinal D'Est, who was accompanied by twelve other cardinals. The grand-master fell on his knees before the pope; and, having kissed his feet, pronounced a most eloquent speech. His holiness, in reply, expressed his pleasure at seeing him, and assured him he never believed him guilty of the crimes imputed to him by his enemies. He endeavoured to console him on the occasion; and, having ordered the gentlemen of the chamber to raise him from the ground, seated him immediately after the four first cardinals, who assisted at the audience.

After having conversed familiarly together for some time on the subject of the grand-master's journey, La Cassiere took leave; and the following day De Foix had a private audience of the pope; in which his holiness informed him, that the conduct of the grand-master had not been entirely irreproachable, and that it would be proper to advise him to act with more moderation for the future.

He added, that Romegas was a man of merit, who had never intended to prevent the reinstatement of the grand-master in his post ; but that he thought both Romegas and his party had acted very ill in never having paid their respects to the grand-master since his arrival in Rome. Monsieur De Foix endeavoured to induce Romegas to visit La Cassiere, and he did not appear much disinclined to follow his advice ; but his fears, lest some of the knights who accompanied the grand-master might not treat him with all the respect he thought he deserved, prevented his visit ; though the ambassador endeavoured to encourage him, with the idea, that a man like him might be assured of commanding respect wherever he presented himself.

Romegas, thus abandoned by every one, lived constantly in solitude. Such a situation awakened remorse, and he became sensible of the enormity of his crime, which caused him the most heart-felt sorrow, and brought on a fever, of which he died in seven days*.

All the revolted knights were under the necessity of presenting themselves before the grand-master, to implore forgiveness : when the commander Sacquenville, the friend and confidant of Romegas, approaching La Cassiere, merely requested his hand to kiss ; upon which the cardinal de Montalto exclaimed, “ Kneel down, rebellious knight ! for had not the goodness of your worthy grand-master

* On the 4th of November.

Vertot is mistaken in saying the pope insisted that Romegas should resign the lieutenancy—he having done it before.

interfered in your favour, you would many days since have lost your head in the piazza Navona."

The Pope, as a particular mark of favour, dispatched a brief to Malta, to forbid the nuncio and council naming to any employment, priory, commandery, or vacant benefice ; wishing, as a fresh proof of his regard, to reserve this privilege for the grand-master, when he should be reinstated in his former dignified situation. Order being thus restored among all the inhabitants of Malta, La Cassiere prepared to return and enjoy his long-lost authority ; but the Wise Disposer of all Things ordained that he should die at Rome. During his illness, which was very short, the pope allowed him to dispose, by will, of ten thousand ducats over and above the sum specified by the statutes of the order. La Cassiere also, in his last moments, entreated his holiness to order the ceremony of his funeral. This the pope chose should be very magnificent, and in every respect becoming the dignity of the deceased. It was accordingly attended by the whole of his household, as also by the households of the cardinals and ambassadors. The body was carried to the church of St. Louis, there to be deposited till it should be transported to Malta ; the heart still remaining in the above-mentioned church. A Latin inscription was, by order of the pope, engraved on his tomb : this was the composition of Mark Anthony Muret, who likewise pronounced the funeral oration.

Immediately after the death of La Cassiere, a brief was sent from the pope to Malta, to forbid the knights naming a new grand-master, or indeed acting in any way, till they had received his commands.

The pope, as superior of the order, thought he had a just right to appoint to the grand-mastership—or, at least, to have the election take place by the votes of the knights then resident at Rome. He, however, would not determine on this measure till he was informed in what manner his orders had been received at Malta—fearing a double election might occasion a schism: he therefore only ordered the galleys which had brought *La Cassiere* to Rome, to be prepared; and sent word to the knights to hold themselves in readiness to depart. They accordingly quitted Rome on the 14th of January, and on the 21st embarked for Malta.

The knight who was intrusted with the briefs of his holiness, at first only presented one, which declared, “that, on account of the grand-master having died at Rome, and considering the present situation of affairs at Malta, the pope, being head of the order, had an undoubted right to name the successor, his predecessors having always done so in similar circumstances; notwithstanding which, he was so desirous of proving the tender affection he bore the order, and of preserving its privileges, that he consented the election of a new grand-master should take place in the usual manner.” The knights, therefore, assembled as formerly; and when the electors had met, and were chosen, the pope’s nuncio presented a second brief, which he had hitherto concealed, and which announced that his holiness expressed a wish they would elect one of the three knights specified in the brief*.

These knights were Panisse, Chabrillan, and Loubeux de Ver-

* Vertot and De Thou say there were four knights mentioned by the pope.

dale—three natives of France, and of the language of Provence. The electors having yielded obedience to the orders of the pope, unanimously made choice of Loubeux de Verdale; and the whole council approved this nomination (1582). The enemies of La Cassiere did not concur in the election, they not arriving in time to give their votes.

The accession of Verdale to the mastership occasioned the greatest rejoicings throughout the island; the Spanish knights, indeed, did not join in the universal approbation, but left Malta immediately afterwards. Had the election been entirely free, there is no doubt but the choice would have fallen on the prior of Naples, who was an Italian.

The new grand-master was at that time fifty years of age. He had filled the principal posts in the order in the most distinguished manner, and had been for a considerable time ambassador at Rome. His disposition was gentle; he was a lover of peace, and a decided enemy to disputes of every kind. Immediately after his election, he gave orders that the great seal should be made on the same plan as formerly—Romegas having broken that used by La Cassiere, on being appointed to the lieutenancy. He established his household, and received indiscriminately both parties.

Verdale paid the greatest honours to the remains of him whose post he occupied; of which, indeed, he would not take possession till the crown and the other insignia of his office were restored to the illustrious deceased. These ornaments had been taken from him by the rebels, but the cardinal had ordered them to be placed upon

the corse, when it was sent, attended by a numerous retinue, to Malta.

In the mean time, the French ambassador warmly solicited, in the name of his sovereign, that the memory of La Cassiere should be publicly vindicated, and that he should be solemnly pronounced innocent of all the crimes laid to his charge.

The nuncio, Visconti, returned at last to Rome, and presented the pope with the informations taken at Malta, which contained the depositions of more than five hundred witnesses. His holiness commanded him to make extracts from them for his use. In the mean time he employed the patriarch of Jerusalem to report on the said informations. All this was not completed before the 23d of July; when the patriarch made his report in the congress of the jurisdiction, to which the pope had referred the affair, in order to take its advice.

This congress was composed of five cardinals, and other persons of respectability, who were of opinion that the proceedings against the grand-master should be declared null, as being unjust; that his memory should be cleared from all the accusations; that the most criminal persons in the revolt should be (though it did not express severely) punished; that a decree should pass, purporting that the alienation of a grand-master's authority did not belong to the knights, but exclusively to the pope; and that, for the future, all those who entered into the order, and were raised to dignified posts in it, should be obliged to make their profession of faith. The five cardinals unanimously approved all the articles, except that relative to the trial and alienation of the authority of a grand-master, against

which, two of the number gave their votes. The pope decided in favour of the majority; and, on the 3d of September, 1582, this sentence was published in the consistory. It met with universal approbation in the assembly, where, however, it was determined that a particular decree should be made for the article concerning the profession of faith, because it was not in the smallest degree connected with the trial of La Cassiere. The king of France was undoubtedly the cause of the pope's vindication of the grand-master's memory; a circumstance, though sufficiently important, which the different historians, who have written on Malta, have passed over in silence.

The great demonstrations of joy which took place on the election of Verdale, were more the effect of the circumstances of the times, than of any particular affection for that prince, who vainly attempted by every possible method to gain the confidence of the people.

A general chapter, assembled by Verdale (1582), produced only a fresh assessment of the taxes on all the property belonging to the order. The just punishment he inflicted on Avogarda, general of the galleys, and on Sacconai, marshal of the order, only increased the number of his enemies.

The pope excluded the knights from becoming bishops of Malta, or priors of the church of St. John; and his brief for that purpose was received (1587), not only with submission, but approbation, by the greatest part of the members of the order, who thought it the most probable means of attaching the Maltese. Most of the conventual chaplains were already of that nation, and this new re-

gulation gave them an opportunity of aspiring to the first dignities in the order. The commander Jean Antoine Fossan had been for some time employed in collecting materials for a history of Malta, but, having left it unfinished, the grand-master employed Jacques Bosio (1589) to complete so useful a work. He could not possibly have made a better choice; for though this history may not, perhaps, be written in the most pleasing style, it is certainly the most exact hitherto published on the subject of the order.

The spirit of sedition still continued to reign in the convent; and if it appeared quelled for a moment, it was only to break forth with the greater violence. Verdale having used every possible effort to restore peace and quiet, determined to go to Rome (1587); where he was received by the pope in the most distinguished manner. His holiness bestowed on him the cardinal's hat, thinking by such a mark of favour to inspire the malcontents with more respect for his person; but the grand-master, on his return, found his new dignity of no avail;—the discontent and seditious spirit of the knights still continued in full force. He, therefore, tired out by the eternal complaints which assailed him on all sides, once more went to Rome, where he soon after died of a broken heart*.

The tumultuous state of the convent was not the only evil Malta had to support; the plague raged with the most dreadful violence throughout the island, and swept off incredible numbers of the inhabitants (1592). The same year, the bishop Gargallo, wishing

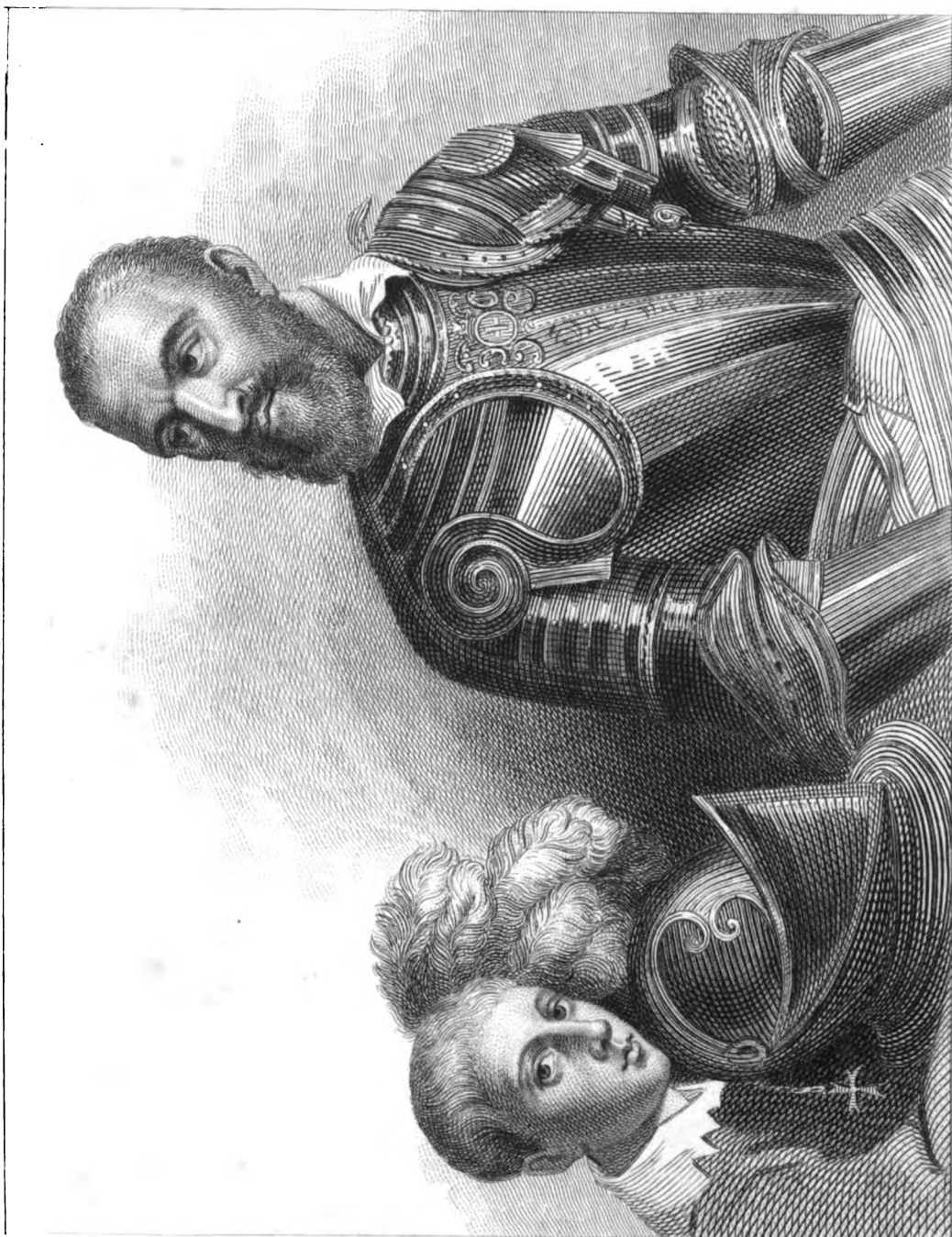
* May 4, 1595.

to strengthen his authority, called in the Jesuits to support him (if necessary) against the power of the order. This learned and artful body of men soon gained the same ascendancy in Malta as in every other place where they had ever been established: it is, however, but justice to observe, that they frequently refused to close with the ambitious views of the bishops and inquisitors.

CHAP. IV.

Garzez Grand-Master—His short Reign. Vignacourt succeeds him. The Galleys of the Order are sent at different Times on Expeditions to the Levant. The Turks make a Descent on Malta. The Inquisitors and Bishops raise great Disturbances in the Island. A general Chapter held. The Knights of the German Language refuse to admit a natural Son of the Royal Family of Lorraine into the Order. A magnificent Aqueduct and Fortifications made by Vignacourt—His Death. Vasconcellos named to the Grand-Mastership, which he enjoys only six Months. Anthony de Paule elected. Two Knights severely punished; the one for Murder, and the other for embezzling Public Money. Accusation and Justification of the Grand-Master. Favours very unjustly conferred by the Pope. Discontent among the Italian Knights. The Pope makes fresh Claims. Another general Chapter convened. Chief Articles debated in the Assembly. Misfortunes and Successes of the Maltese Galleys. Complaints made by the Venetians: energetical Answer sent by the Grand-Master. Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Malta and Goza.

THE turbulent reigns of La Cassiere and De Verdale, were succeeded (1596) by the comparatively quiet one of Garzez; which was not disturbed by any thing of greater importance than the busy interference of the inquisitors, which, however, at that time, was only directed to trifling objects. Garzez was a prince who had no particular favourite, and was perfectly impartial; his government, therefore, was equally agreeable to the knights and the people. The



Alfonso de Siquemur

From a Frenchman from the engraving by Michael Angelo Caravaggio, now in the National Museum at Paris.

fortifications of Goza and its castle were entirely completed within the sixteenth century.

The reign of Vignacourt, his successor (1601), was both long and brilliant; and the knights of that day planned and executed the most daring enterprises. They attacked Patras and Lepanto; and the Maltese galleys seized (1602) on Mahometa, on the coast of Africa. This expedition was projected with great prudence, and executed with consummate courage. The same galleys also ravaged the island of Lango, held in high estimation by the knights while they resided at Rhodes. They took one hundred and sixty-five prisoners, whom they employed as slaves. The Fort De Laiazzo, in the gulf of that name, was taken by Fresnet, Mauros, and Guacourt, three knights; who, by means of a petard, blew up the gate, and thus entered the fortress, which they plundered to a great amount; and, after rasing the fortifications to the ground, brought off (1610) more than three hundred slaves. The following year (1611) the city of Corinth was pillaged and sacked by the galleys of the order, which were continually spreading terror throughout the whole of the Levant, notwithstanding they were surrounded by a considerable fleet, composed of Turks and Barbs, constantly sailing in those seas. Such repeated successes induced the Turks (1615) to make a fresh attempt on Malta. Sixty galleys approached the coast, and landed five thousand men, who, however, were forced to re-embark with precipitation, and that without taking a single prisoner—the inhabitants having retired into the fortresses. The Maltese galleys continued masters of the sea; and it was re-

solved to make a desperate assault (1620), which required as much skill as resolution. This was no less than landing troops in the fortress of Castel Torneza, which might be regarded as the store-house of the Morea, and which they succeeded in taking. The general of the galleys having received intelligence, by a Greek, of a meditated attack on the marines, he, overawed by a body of four thousand Turks, who were already within a short march of him, ordered a retreat to be sounded; which the commander St. Pierre, who headed the land forces, so ably conducted that he regained the vessels, not only with the booty, but all the prisoners.

In the mean time (1619), the land troops belonging to the order, serving on the coast of Africa in his catholic majesty's army, received a very serious check before Suza, which they in vain attempted to take, and in which expedition twenty knights lost their lives.

Whilst these different military enterprises were carrying on abroad, the grand-master was continually harassed by the inquisitors and the popes. Virelli, the grand-inquisitor, who was openly supported by Clement VIII., chose to take cognisance of the affairs of government. The bishop of Malta likewise made many attempts against the authority of the grand-master and the council, and went to Rome in order to induce the pope to support his pretensions. He appointed one of his grand-vicars to act for him during his absence. This man was as turbulent and meddling as himself; so much so indeed, that the younger knights, irritated beyond description at his insolence, flew in a body to his house, intending to throw him into

the sea. Vignacourt contrived to prevent their putting this design into execution ; and, having got him into his possession, sent him, together with the accusations brought against his conduct, to Rome : but the pope was so incensed on the occasion, that he ordered his inquisitor to take the proper information, and threatened the grand-master with all the anathemas of the church. He, therefore, equally with the council, was obliged to yield ; and, by this concession, concluded the affair.

During the mastership of Vignacourt, a general chapter was held (1603), in which the principal subjects determined were the manner of bringing the proofs necessary for admission into the order, and the administration of some particular departments in the treasury.

About this time, the knights of the German language gave a strong proof how jealous they were of the dignity of the order, and how strictly they observed the regulations, in the reception of a knight of their country. Charles-de Brie, a natural son of Henry duke of Lorrain, presented himself to be received into the German language ; and, as the empire made a point of his being admitted, the Germans rose in a body, and tore away the armorial ensigns of the grand-master, together with those of the order, from the gates of their inn, leaving those of the emperor as the only ornament.

It is impossible for any sovereign to leave behind him a more useful and magnificent monument of attention to the public weal, than the work erected by the order of Vignacourt (1616), to supply the city La Valetta with water, which, from a canal, he caused

to be brought, by means of an aqueduct of seven thousand four hundred and seventy-eight cannes* in length, into the square facing the grand-master's palace. Since that time a handsome fountain has been made, and canals have been dug to convey the water into different parts of the city. This is not the only useful work executed by Vignacourt, he having caused St. Paul's Cove, the ports of Marsa Sirocco and Marsa Scala, together with the island of Cùmin, to be fortified in the most regular manner.

Whilst thus employed in useful and honourable improvements, the order had the misfortune of losing its respectable grand-master, who, hunting a hare, during the heats of August, was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a very few days †.

His successor, Mendez Vasconcellos, enjoyed his dignified situation only six months, dying March 7, 1623, which short space of time was passed in confirming all the prudent dispositions made by his predecessor.

The mastership of Anthony de Paule began by the severe, but necessary, punishment of two of the knights: John de Fonseca, a Portuguese novice, being convicted of theft and murder, was beheaded in the great square before the palace; and the prior of Capua having embezzled fifteen thousand ducats from the receiver's office at Naples, two thousand crowns from that of Rome, together with fifteen thousand ducats from the effects of the deceased grand-master,

* Each canne contained eight palmes—each palme about nine inches.

† September 14, 1622.

Vasconcellos, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment ; in which he ended his days.

Anthony de Paule was himself obliged to vindicate his conduct to the pope, to whom some wicked persons, with the most shameless effrontery, had presented a memorial filled with the grossest calumnies, which they flattered themselves they could impose upon his holiness as truths. In it they represented the grand-master as a man of depraved morals, having been guilty of simony, and even paid down ready-money for the post he possessed. In this unpleasant situation, the commander De Polastron, a most exemplary character, was sent to Rome, where he presently triumphed over the grand-master's enemies, and sufficiently proved his innocence.

No sooner was De Paule relieved from one embarrassment, than he was involved in another still worse (1625) ; for the pope, Urban VIII., was both party and judge in the cause. This pontiff followed the example of his predecessors, Paul V. and Gregory XIV. ; and took upon himself to dispose of all the commanderies which became vacant in the language of Italy. In a very short time the different popes had given away more than twenty to their friends and relations. All the representations made on this subject having proved useless, the Italian knights refused to make their caravans, or to go aboard the vessels and galleys belonging to the order ; the greatest part of them indeed retired to their own country, where they joined their families. The grand-master, wishing to prevent these disturbances, convened a council, in which it was unanimously resolved, that an ambassador should be sent to the pope.

with the just complaints of the order ; but, as the conduct of his holiness had been such that they had very little to hope from this step, they determined to send three other ambassadors to the principal Christian princes—*viz.* the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain.

The ambassadors were likewise charged to represent to these sovereigns the very great abuses which had taken place in certain dispensations granted by the court of Rome ; particularly that of permitting the knights to dispose of their effects to the prejudice of the common treasury, which greatly diminished the revenue of the order, and consequently was extremely detrimental to general utility.

Notwithstanding all these remonstrances, the pope not only continued to dispose of the commanderies in favour of his relations, but published an ordinance, *motu proprio*, by which he changed the form hitherto observed in the election of the grand-masters (1630). He had also, the year before the last chapter was held, endeavoured to alter the ancient customs which took place on those occasions ; and the moment it was convened, the inquisitor presented himself to act as president, with power from the pope either to suspend or to prorogue it at pleasure.

The grand-master assured his holiness, that he was very well disposed to obey his commands ; but that the body of the order would never submit with patience to the introduction of an entire stranger, to whom should be given the title and authority of president. The pope gave no attention to any thing that could be urged

on the occasion ; the council therefore thought it necessary to give up the point ; but, in order to avoid the impetuous disapprobation of the younger knights, they were sent upon a cruise whilst the chapter was held. This assembly having as usual committed their authority into the hands of sixteen commissaries, they, with the inquisitor, retired into the conclave, which met in the hall belonging to the tower in the palace. The inquisitor, as has been already mentioned, presided according to the pope's wishes, but without being allowed a vote, or empowered to make any overture ; and Boisrigault, grand-hospitaller, proposed the matters of debate, as the oldest of the sixteen commissaries. Imbroll, prior of the church, in quality of procurator to the grand-master, and brother Peter Turmini, secretary of the common treasury, intervened in this assembly, where it was first taken into consideration what methods should be pursued to erect separate private houses for the reception of novices of the different languages. The fund for building these dwellings, was to arise from what was paid for the *passages* of minority. But this plan was never carried into execution, the treasury having always employed the money for more pressing occasions.

Several of the knights, the principal of whom was the prior of the church, were employed to comprise, in one volume, all the statutes, ordinances, and capitulars, "to translate the whole into Italian, without any additions, and to retrench every thing which appeared useless, or which had been since revoked ; thus leaving only what was necessary ;—to report, and place under the different titles, all the new statutes which had the greatest connexion with the

others; and to add to the perpetual institutions some particular ordinances, to which custom and the observance of them had given all the force of a law." This volume was ordered to be finished in one year, and presented to the grand-master and the council. It was likewise to be printed, and afterwards translated into good Latin, with the approbation, nevertheless, and confirmation of the holy father the pope, and the holy apostolical see.

Many articles were also regulated relative to the title necessary for the reception of the brothers; and it was enacted, among other things, that no brother should take the habit, nor be professed, without the consent of the grand-master and the council, whose votes were to be taken by ballot; and, in case two thirds were in favour of the candidate, he was declared duly elected. To these rules was added one, that neither the grand-master nor council should be obliged to assign any reason for having refused their consent to the admission of any particular person. The same forms were likewise to be observed for the admission of a chaplain or servant of arms. The proofs necessary to be brought for the reception of the knights, were agreed upon at the same time; and the German language obtained permission, that their ancient custom, from which they had never deviated, should be kept up; and that no one could possibly be received among them, who was not born in lawful wedlock, not even if he were the son of a sovereign prince. All the other languages received indiscriminately the natural sons of crowned heads, princes of the blood, and other inferior sovereign princes. By the third title of the institutes of the church, the venerable lan-

guages were confirmed in their right to the different chapels which had been assigned to their use in the conventual church of St. John the Baptist. It was also stipulated, that if ever England should return to the bosom of the holy mother church, the council should award to that venerable language a chapel, according to the pre-eminence in which it formerly stood.

Permission was granted to the grand-master and council to tax the possessions of the order in the sum of one hundred and twenty-two thousand crowns, in case a siege should be apprehended ; and this by means of the duties arising from the *passages* both of minority and majority, and indeed of all the different classes in the order.

The grand-master, having declared, by his solicitor, that it was not his intention to take upon himself the management of the treasury, it was ordained that the administration of the said treasury, together with every thing depending thereon, should continue under the direction of the venerable grand-commander and the solicitors of the treasury ; but it was likewise resolved, “ that the grand-master and his successors, whether they had or had not the management of the treasury, might always send their seneschal, or whatever solicitor they pleased to name, to take his seat, not only in the tribunal of the treasury, but at the audits, examinations, and summing up of the accounts : in short, to be present at the definitive regulation of affairs, of what nature soever ; there to give his deliberative, active, or passive vote, according to his pre-eminence and seniority ; and to act in every respect according to the orders the grand-master should judge proper to give him.

A general chapter being convened for the year 1641, the council was enjoined, as soon as the citations were sent out, to name a commissary of each language, in order to make a public roll, and to revise the accounts of the treasury, with the solicitors, conventual conservator, and secretary of that office, and then to represent to the chapter the real state of the affairs of the order. The grand-master's solicitor, the venerable general-treasurer, his lieutenant, and the vice-chancellor, were to be present at all these conferences. A commission was also named to regulate the ceremony of receiving persons of high distinction, and other foreigners, who might visit Malta.

A donation of six thousand crowns, each of the value of a twelve-tarin piece, was confirmed to the grand-master. This was to be paid by the treasury, either in ready money, or in commodities properly rated, for the expenses of the brothers' table—"In order," it was stated, "that they might always have sufficient to maintain them according to their condition; and this pension shall never be either increased, diminished, or altered, by any person whatsoever." The chapter also discharged the treasury from all the expenses of maintaining, repairing, and adding to the palaces and other buildings belonging to the mastership, situated in the City La Valetta, the City Notable, Mount Verdale, and the park or wood. But the said treasury was to furnish the small sum of two hundred crowns (of twelve tarins each) towards making doors, windows, casements, and other necessary articles; together with hangings, carpets, gold and silver plate, and copper kitchen furniture.

It was enacted, that, in future, the knights and brothers, ser-

vants of arms, should make four caravans in person (not by proxy, as formerly) on board the galleys, before they should be held capable of being named to any commandery, It was likewise decreed, that, to the new collection of statutes, the following words should be added to the twelfth article, which treats of the solicitors-general at the court of Rome—" Ambassador to his holiness our lord ; and solicitor-general at the court of Rome."

It was forbidden to tax the commanderies more than a fifth part of their revenue ; this restriction was likewise to take place in the magisterial commanderies.

The grand-master was empowered to apprehend and imprison any knight accused of a crime which rendered him liable to be stripped of the habit of the order ; but he must afterwards name commissaries to institute an action against him, in which case he was to be tried by the grand-master and council. It was also decreed that any prisoner who should make his escape before sentence was passed upon him, should be regarded as guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and consequently condemned without further trial. Any knight arraigned for an atrocious crime might be deprived of the habit by the council, or the egards, on presumptive proofs. According to the same regulations, if the crime appeared worthy of condign punishment, the accused party must be given up to secular justice ; that is to say, to the chastellanry, or grand-master's court, when the action was to be tried anew, and sentence passed without any reference to that already given by the tribunal of the order. Those, however, who were in holy orders, and also officiated in the

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churches with the tonsure and habit of an ecclesiastic, were not tried in this manner ; but, after being deprived of the habit of the order, were delivered over to the bishop's court, there to take their trial conformable to the decree passed by the venerable council relative to those criminals who, having been stripped of the habit, were given up to secular justice.

The suppression of duels was also attended to on this occasion ; and the ancient laws against this practice renewed. Orders were given to proceed with the utmost severity against all novices and professed knights “ who should either fight without the gates of the City La Valetta, or on the bastions—which occasioned duels being generally fought within the city, that not being specified by the letter of the law. Many travellers have mentioned one particular street where affairs of this nature frequently took place, and have falsely added, that it was a privileged spot : the truth is, it was originally chosen on account of its situation*, and since resorted to from the mere effect of habit. Lastly, the chapter made numerous regulations relating to the galleys, leaving, however, the grand-master and council at liberty to make alterations when occasion required.

I have perhaps dwelt longer than may be thought necessary on the awards of this general chapter, the statutes and regulations of

* The crosses which are marked on the walls of the houses in this street were made by the Maltese, who had an ancient custom of drawing them near the spot where they imagined any person had been killed ; and they thought they were acting agreeably to God's will, to whom they prayed for the deceased, and made this mark, as being particularly respected by all who bore the name of Christians.

which were never new modelled till the year 1775, when the greatest part of them were left unaltered, and are observed by the order to this day. The particulars here detailed will explain many of our customs, which, being unknown to readers in general, could not fail to make many passages in our history almost unintelligible.

The knights, during the whole of this reign, were constantly engaged in a maritime and bloody war against the infidels (1625); in which they were sometimes successful and sometimes unfortunate. The order attacked the island of St. Maura, possessed by the Turks; but the expedition proved a fatal one, twelve knights being killed, and several wounded. The order also lost two of their galleys (the St. John and St. Francis) in a very long and obstinate sea engagement. The knights of St. John had for some time only possessed five galleys, but the grand-master had presented them a sixth (1633); and with these they captured, near the island of Zante, four vessels containing six hundred and thirty Moors or negroes, on their passage from Barbary to Constantinople. In the same campaign they engaged several corsairs from Tripoli, made three hundred and thirty slaves, and delivered sixty Christians.

The Venetians, to gratify the Turks, who at the same time were only watching for a favourable opportunity to drive them from the Levant, complained most bitterly that the Maltese galleys were continually taking prizes in the seas, and on the coasts belonging to the republic. They also demanded that the slaves which had been taken on these occasions should be given back; to which the am-

bassador from Malta, by the commands of the grand-master, replied, that the order would willingly release the subjects of the grand-seignor who had been taken in the Adriatic; but that as for the corsairs, they should undoubtedly be hanged, as villains who were equally inimical to all religions and all countries.

The terror spread by the arms of the order was so great throughout the Levant, that the different Franciscans of Europe, to whom was intrusted the care of the holy sepulchre on Mount Calvary, Bethlem, and other holy places in Palestine, having made complaints to the pope that the schismatic Eastern Greeks had taken possession of their posts, his holiness had recourse to the grand-master and council, to employ some proper means to make these usurpers repent their conduct. They immediately resolved to give no quarter to any vessel belonging to these schismatic Greeks, as long as they continued to usurp the place of the Franciscans in the guardianship of the holy sepulchre.

Such daily losses (1632) both by sea and land must, according to all calculation, greatly diminish the inhabitants of Malta. The fact, however, was otherwise; and, thanks to the continual benedictions bestowed upon them, and to the paternal cares of a wise administration, the population of Malta increased in a manner unexampled in history. An enumeration of the inhabitants of Malta and Goza was taken in 1632, when, without reckoning the knights, &c. of the order, the ecclesiastics and officers of the holy brotherhood, the number amounted to fifty one thousand seven hundred and fifty, including men, women, and children.

In the year 1559, after the raising the famous siege of Malta, the island only contained ten thousand inhabitants: it will therefore be seen by this calculation, that, in the space of seventy-three years, the population was become five times more considerable.

CHAP. V.

Lascaris Grand-Master. Famine in Malta. War between France and Spain. Malta finds great Difficulty in preserving its Neutrality. The Maltese Batteries fire on a French Ship. Consequences which ensue. The Grand-Seignor declares War against the Order. Defensive Preparations. Count D'Arpajon's Conduct, together with that of some other Noblemen. The Order rewards their Services by Grants to their Families. Siege of Candia. Malta sends constant Reinforcements to the besieged. Junction of the Maltese Gallies with the Venetian Fleet. The Pope and Inquisitor make fresh Pretensions. The Order engaged in a War which took Place between Christian Powers. The Jesuits driven out of the Island by the younger Knights. New Fortifications erected. Acquisition of St. Christopher and other American Islands, which are afterwards sold by the Order. Disputes concerning Precedence at the Court of Spain between the Maltese and Tuscan Ambassadors; and likewise relative to the Order of Salute between Malta and the Republic of Genoa.

LASCARIS, a descendant of the counts of Vintimiglia, sprung from the emperors of Constantinople, succeeded the grand-master Anthony De Paule *. Such at that time was the scarcity in Malta, that he was obliged to supply the island with grain, which, in consequence of the viceroy of Sicily objecting to corn being sent out of the island, was not very easy to procure. The general of the galleys did, however, at last prevail on the viceroy to part with six

* Died June 7, 1636.

thousand salmes, free from all taxes and export duties. But the scarcity became so much greater the following year, that the Sicilian government not only refused to export corn, but laid an embargo on all Maltese vessels on their entrance into any of the ports of that island. These inimical proceedings on the part of the officers of his catholic majesty, were caused by the war which then subsisted between France and Spain; many French knights on board French vessels or galleys having taken some considerable prizes close to the Maltese ports. The grand-master was undoubtedly very far from culpable in this affair, he having forbidden all the knights indiscriminately ever to take up arms against any Christian power whatsoever; and had even written to the king of France in very express terms, representing that the knights on board his majesty's ships had taken some Sicilian vessels close to Malta, which not only interrupted the commerce between the two islands, but greatly incensed the ministers of the king of Spain, who publicly declared that these overt acts were committed with the knowledge and consent of the council of the order.

The situation of the grand-master, during the whole course of this war, was extremely embarrassing. An attempt was made to stop two Maltese galleys at Syracuse; and the governor of that place went so far as to fire upon them when they were leaving the port (1637).

This extraordinary conduct in the Spaniards, who were constant witnesses of the services rendered their sovereigns by the order in the defence of their dominions, gave great offence to all Eu-

rope ; and the Italian courts, in particular, declared, that the Maltese galleys had never before been fired upon but by corsairs and infidels.

The duke de Montalto, viceroy of Sicily, fearing, with reason, that reports of this nature, together with the just complaints of the grand-master, might reach his sovereign, reprobated the conduct of the governor of Syracuse ; and, in order to make some satisfaction for what had passed, promised to send corn to Malta, which, however, did not prevent the famine from being very distressing in that island ; so much so, indeed, that the inhabitants absolutely forced a Flemish vessel, laden with two thousand salmes of corn, which had taken refuge in Malta during a storm, to sell its cargo ; and by this means they obtained a temporary relief (1650). Nothing affected the order more sensibly during this scarcity, than being refused the liberty of making biscuits in Sicily for the use of their navy. But happily for Malta, Don Juan of Austria presently took off this prohibition. Notwithstanding this mark of favour, the Spanish ministers became every day more and more irritated at the continual prizes made by French vessels, the greatest part of which were commanded by knights of that nation : they therefore ordered all their possessions in Sicily to be sequestered, and likewise prohibited anew the transport of any provisions to Malta, or the entry of any Maltese vessel into their ports.

The grand-master and council, surprised at such severe proceedings, endeavoured to soften the king of Spain, by again forbidding the knights to engage in any armaments fitted out against Christian

princes; and the agents of the order, at the court of France, renewed their entreaties to his Christian majesty, not to permit his navy to attack the Spaniards in the canal of Malta, nor close to the coast of Sicily. The grand-master likewise issued the most positive orders to the commanders in the different ports of Malta and Goza, not to permit the approach of any privateers; nor by any means allow them to remain in any of those parts. In consequence of these orders, the chevalier De la Carte, with a French vessel under his command, having endeavoured to enter the creek of Marsa Sirocco, after a fierce engagement in the canal of Goza, was forced to put back by some batteries raised on purpose to keep of all ships of that description (1651). This affair, which might perhaps have been attended with very serious consequences, being communicated to Don Juan of Austria, who acted as generalissimo for the king of Spain, he immediately re-established free commerce between Malta and Sicily.

The court of France, being already extremely offended with the grand-master for having forbidden the ships of his Christian majesty to disembark their crews in the Maltese ports, was still more irritated at the intelligence that a French fleet being driven into the canal by a dreadful storm, had been not only refused shelter in any of the ports, but even fired upon from the batteries. Such a conduct was generally esteemed high treason by the French ministry; and it was thought worthy of no less a punishment than the seizure of all the possessions belonging to the order in France, and annexing them to the crown lands. The grand-master alleged for excuse,

the engagement entered into by his predecessors with Charles V., to which the kings of France had given their consent ; and he accordingly sent the act of infeoffment of Malta to that court.

This affair was at last most amicably settled by the skilful management of the bailiff of Souere *, and the interest of monsieur De Lomenie, secretary of state ; one of whose sons had just been received a minor into the order ; and on whom the grand-master, in acknowledgement of the good offices of his father, conferred, by special favour, the commandery of La Rochelle.

These troublesome affairs settled, and the distresses occasioned by famine in some degree removed, the order next suffered from want of money. To procure a supply of so necessary an article, Lascaris gave orders for a fresh coinage, to which he annexed an ideal value ; and this in order to pay the workmen who were constantly employed in the new fortifications at the City La Valetta, which, as we have already mentioned, were directed by an engineer named Florian, whose unremitted zeal, and great talents, the grand-master rewarded by honouring him with the habit of the order. At the same time (1638), the commander de Charott, general of the galleys, being on a cruise, fell in with three ships of war from Tripoli, convoying twenty transports or merchantmen. The Maltese general never waited to give them his broadside, but prepared to

* The king of France, it is said, addressed the Maltese ambassador in the following terms : " I am very willing to forget all that is past ; but, another time, do not let the gunners who serve your batteries take quite so good aim"—alluding to the first cannon-shot having split the staff which supported the French flag.

board them, and accordingly made a disposition for that purpose. The engagement was bloody, and the infidels defended themselves with unexampled courage. The admiral of this small flotilla was a renegado from Marseilles, called *La Becasse*, who had formerly, and for a great length of time, acted as pilot to the vessels belonging to the order. His wife and children were still at Malta; but he, having been taken and carried into Tripoli, turned Mahometan, and, engaging in the service of the infidels, was, through his valour and skill, raised to the rank of admiral. He bore the name of *Ibrahim Rais*, and at the time of this action had on board his vessels four hundred and fifty soldiers, all chosen troops. *Châteauneuf*, who commanded the *St. Peter*, immediately engaged him. His brother, *Marcel de Châteauneuf*, first boarded the vessel; and the admiral was instantly taken by a number of knights, who, sabre in hand, put all the Turkish soldiers to death. *Marcel de Châteauneuf*, having seized on *La Becasse*, dragged him to his brother, whose pilot he had formerly been. The commanders of the other galleys were equally successful, and the whole of the flotilla was taken, not one single vessel escaping. The general of the galleys made three hundred and twelve slaves, and then entered triumphantly into Malta, with the twenty vessels richly laden. The order unfortunately lost several knights in this engagement, particularly the chevaliers *De Viontessancourt*, *De Malmaison*, *De Saubolin*, *De Biacourt*, *D'Isnard*, *De Piccolomini*, and *De Sousa*. A still greater number were wounded, which, among warriors so careless of life, where glory was concerned, can never be a matter of surprise.

The prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, general of the galleys, boldly ventured to carry off six rovers, which were riding in the port of Goletta (1640). He was preceded by Boisbaudran, who, perceiving one of the Maltese galleys in danger of being taken by the barbarians, rushed into the midst of the infidels, and, at the risk of being surrounded by their galleys, forced them to quit their hold: after which he returned to Malta, where he was received with every mark of distinction due to such noble conduct and so gallant an action.

A most formidable engagement took place between three galleys and a very large galleon, which, in order to deceive the knights, and induce them to commence an attack, had kept its artillery concealed (1644). The *St. Mary*, being a perfectly well-equipped vessel, led on the other two galleys; and her commander, the chevalier De Piancourt, disregarding the prodigious difference between a single galley and so large a vessel, instantly prepared to board her. The other galleys came to her assistance, and, after an action which lasted seven hours, the infidels, perceiving their captain and principal officers slain, surrendered to the conquering arms of the order. Nine knights lost their lives in this engagement, among whom were the gallant Boisbaudran, the chevalier Piancourt, and Robert and Nicholas de Boufflers. (These two brothers were novices, and extremely promising youths). Six hundred Turks were slain; and among the prisoners was a lady of the seraglio, who, from a principle of devotion, was going to Mecca, accompanied by a young child, supposed to be the son of the

grand-seignor Ibrahim. This boy afterwards entered the order of St. Dominic, and was always distinguished by the name of Father Ottoman.

Ibrahim, enraged at the loss of this galleon, which contained immense riches, immediately dispatched a herald (1645) to declare war against Malta. Every possible care was immediately taken to put the forces of the order in a proper state to resist the powerful army of the grand-seignor. Provisions and ammunition were procured from all quarters; and the moment it was known throughout Christendom that Malta was threatened by the infidels, several nobles levied troops, and offered their services to the order. Lewis count D'Arpajon distinguished himself particularly on this occasion. He armed all his vessels, raised two thousand men at his own expense, loaded several vessels with ammunition and provisions, and, accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, his relations and friends, set sail for Malta; where he presented this reinforcement to the grand-master, who could scarcely have hoped for such a supply even from a powerful sovereign. Lascaris thought he could not offer a less reward for such important services, than the commission of commander-in-chief of the land forces, with liberty to make choice of three lieutenant-generals, to act under his orders in those places where it was impossible for him to go in person.

The hostile menaces of the Turks proved only a false alarm, the grand-seignor turning his thoughts towards the island of Candia, which he besieged, and took Canea.

When count D'Arpajon left Malta, the grand-master, with

the consent and by the advice of the council, issued a special bull, by which he granted permission to the count and his eldest son to wear the golden-cross of the order ; as also, that one of the younger branches of his family should be received a minor, free from all duties of passage, and, after his profession, should be honoured with the grand-cross ; and that the heads and eldest sons of their house should be allowed the privilege of quartering the cross on their shields and in their arms. The same favour was bestowed on two brothers, Giles and John-Francis de Fay, counts de Maulevrier, Norman gentlemen ; and on seignor Francis Bollo, a Neapolitan, who, at his own expense, had brought a great number of soldiers to the relief of Malta.

The war carried on by the grand-seignor against Candia, may with great propriety be termed a war with Malta ; for the order never failed to send a squadron every year for the defence of that island. The Venetians, who on the slightest pretences were continually sequestering the possessions of the order, and who had but just taken off the last sequestration, saw with surprise the Maltese squadron arrive the first to the assistance of Canea. This place was defended (1649) by Mocenigo, commander-in-chief ; Morosino, provveditor and commander of the land forces ; and the commander Balbiano, general of the Maltese galleys, a man of great experience, and a constant attendant in the council. The latter being present when the subject in debate was the danger occasioned by the Turks having taken a half-moon at the bastion of Bethlem, immediately offered to regain those works. The offer was instantly accepted,

and he placed himself at the head of thirty knights and a hundred of the bravest soldiers from the admiral's galley. These latter were commanded by the chevalier De Sales, a nephew of the pious bishop so well known by the name of St. Francis de Sales. It was night when the attack was made, and the knights, taking advantage of the darkness, mounted the half-moon, killing every one who opposed them. The Turks, thus surprised, awoke, and defended themselves at first with great resolution; but, being too few in number to resist the knights, the greatest part betook themselves to flight, and the rest leaped off the parapet, leaving the half-moon to its fate. Their general, shocked at so shameful a desertion, reproached his troops with their cowardice, and determined to attack the Christians the following day. In order to succeed more easily in this enterprise, he sprang a mine, which blew up several knights, among whom was De Sales, who, falling back into the mine, was almost buried in the ruins. This, however, did not discourage them; and the Turks found the works so well defended, that they did not dare attempt to force them.

The Maltese galleys were equally serviceable to the republic by sea; joining their fleet every year, and particularly distinguishing themselves in two engagements (1657), which took place in the Dardanelles, where the Venetians gained a very signal victory over the Turks. Their general attributed the success of the last battle to the manœuvres and valour of the Maltese squadron, to whom he dispatched a brig purposely to congratulate them on the occasion.

The pope, the bishop of Malta, and the inquisitor, were continually endeavouring to extend their jurisdiction. The bishop

bestowed the tonsure and *patente* on any youth in the island who presented himself for that purpose. These new ecclesiastics made no scruple of absenting themselves from the companies in which they were enrolled, and refused to perform any of the military duties imposed on the inhabitants by the grand-master and council. The king of Spain and the pope were obliged to interpose in this affair, and the conduct of the bishop was severely blamed by both.

Urban VIII. was less favourable to the order than any other sovereign pontiff. He constantly violated its rules; and just at that time had granted the ancient commanders permission to dispose by will of their fortunes; which entirely ruined the common treasury, by depriving it of their effects. This pope made a request to the grand-master (1643), which ought to have been refused without the smallest hesitation, but which, on the contrary, was immediately granted by Lascaris; with restrictions indeed, though such as were very insufficient to justify a compliance so extremely blameable in every respect. The pope having discovered that a league was formed between several Italian sovereigns to prevent his invading the dominions of the duke of Parma, applied to the grand-master to send the galleys of the order to his assistance, which was instantly done. But the allied princes, from a just spirit of vengeance, seized on all the possessions belonging to the order in their different domains, and did not yield them to their ancient owners, till it was represented to them that the grand-master had been forced to obey the pope, as the first superior of the knights of Malta; but that the commanders of the galleys had been secretly

ordered to remain only on the defensive, according to the spirit of the order, which had ever indiscriminately respected the Christian flag. A short time afterwards the same pope made another request, which was refused, though it was undoubtedly of much less importance than that above-mentioned; which I must always think the greatest political error the order ever committed; I may indeed say, *the only one*. It is impossible to repeat too often, that its very essence consists in being perfectly impartial to every country which furnishes it with knights, and consequently adds to the revenue. The moment it becomes inimical to any power, that prince has an undoubted right to prevent his subjects from entering into the order, or transferring their property to Malta.

The pope, supported by the Spanish ministers, requested the grand-master to bestow the grand-cross on Don Philip, son of the king of Tunis (1646), this young prince having turned Christian; but the council strongly opposed the request, feeling the greatest repugnance at the idea of one of the most dignified posts in the order being filled by a Moor whose conversion was very doubtful.

An affair, of a very different nature (1639) from those just mentioned, had some years before engrossed, for a short time, the attention of the convent. Some young knights, who had just ceased acting as pages, disguised themselves as jesuits during the carnival. This offended these holy fathers, who made their complaints to Las-caris, and he immediately apprehended some of the youths; on which their companions forced the prison gates, and released them from confinement: after which they proceeded in a body to the college,

threw the furniture out of the windows, and compelled the grand-master to send the jesuits out of the island ; eleven of whom were accordingly embarked ; but four contrived to secrete themselves in the city La Valetta, where they remained. The council and elder knights were not very sorry for this banishment ; the jesuits having the art of governing the grand-master, whom they prejudiced against them.

Notwithstanding the want of specie had made it necessary to coin money of an ideal value, and famine had cruelly ravaged the island, the grand-master built Fort St. Agatha, on the coast of Melecca. This he stocked with provisions, and with every thing necessary to prevent the corsairs from making a descent on that coast, which there was constantly reason to apprehend. The order also built a seventh galley, and made acquisitions in America ; but of these they were eager to dispose, from the great expenses attending the possession of them. The chevalier De Poincy, who was commandant of the island of St. Christopher (at that time the property of a company of merchants, who held it under the crown of France), persuaded the grand-master to make this purchase ; and M. de Souvré, the Maltese ambassador at Paris, acted so ably in this affair, that St. Christopher was sold to the order, by a contract made at Paris and ratified in Malta. The order likewise wished to enter into treaty for the islands of Guadaloupe and Martinico.

The purchase of St. Christopher was on two conditions : the first, that the order should engage to pay the inhabitants of the island all such monies as the company of merchants, the late pro-

proprietors, might possibly owe them; and the second, that the venders should receive the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand French livres, that is to say, about five thousand pounds sterling. In this bargain was not only included the fee-simple of St. Christopher's, together with that of the neighbouring islands of St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and Santa Cruz; but also the plantations, black slaves, merchandise, ammunition, and provisions: all which was confirmed by the letters patent of Louis XIV. On the death of the bailiff de Poincy, the order thought it more prudent to dispose of possessions which scarcely sufficed to pay off the debts contracted by the bailiff to support the dignity of his government. They were therefore sold to a company of merchants, who, under the king's protection, settled themselves in these islands in 1665. Who could possibly foresee, that, a hundred and thirty years afterwards, proprietors would be found in the very same spot, who could pay the whole purchase-money given by Malta from one year's revenue of a single plantation?

The grand-dukes of Tuscany were become so powerful, from their alliances with different crowned heads, that they raised their pretensions to the greatest height (1653); and on the entry of the imperial ambassador at Madrid, the abbé Icontré, their minister, thought proper to claim precedence before the bailiff Don Juan de Tordesillas, ambassador from Malta, who spurned at such a procedure, and presented a memorial to his Catholic majesty, representing that the mi-

nisters from the order of Malta had from time immemorial taken place of all those who were not deputed by kings, and who were not admitted whilst the king of Spain was at chapel. This dispute was decided in favour of the Maltese ambassador.

The order had about the same time another dispute with the Genoese, which had nearly been attended with very serious consequences. These republicans attacked five Maltese galleys in their port; the said galleys, on entering it, having only saluted the city and the galley of the Spanish admiral: those belonging to Genoa expected the same mark of respect, and the knights having refused it, the magistrates sent word to the commander, that they would fire upon his galleys and sink them; the general was therefore obliged, in order to save his squadron, to give them satisfaction. On leaving the port he perceived a Genoese vessel, and immediately sent to examine it; but finding it to be only a merchant ship, he contented himself with tearing down the flag, on which the arms of the republic were displayed, and waited till he met either galleys or men-of-war, on which he might revenge the insult he had so lately received.

The extraordinary conduct of the republic of Genoa was no sooner known at Malta, than the council resolved not to admit another Genoese into the order till proper satisfaction was made for this violent attack on the Maltese squadron.

CHAP. VI.

The Inquisitor endeavours in vain to prevent the Election of Redin. Towers built for the Defence of the Island. Short Duration of the Mastership of Clermont. Raphael and Nicholas Cotoner successively elected; their Characters. The Galleys of the Order sail with the French Squadron to the Coast of Africa. Gallant Actions performed by the Chevaliers Crainville, Tremicourt, and Hocquincourt. Tremicourt's noble Conduct and glorious Death. The Republic of Venice grants peculiar Privileges to the Knights. Surrender of Candia. New Fortifications erected. The Plague makes dreadful Ravages in Malta.

SCARCELY had Lascaris breathed his last (1657), when the inquisitor began to raise disturbances, by his interference in the election of a grand-master. He produced a brief from the pope, dated the 9th of December, 1656, in which his holiness commanded him, on the demise of Lascaris, to declare, that all knights who should be convicted of having canvassed, bribed, or employed promises or threats, either for the election or exclusion of any particular person, should be not only incapable of being chosen themselves, but of giving their votes in favour of another. The pope likewise interdicted, in the same brief, the election of the bailiff de Redin, viceroy of Sicily, as a man of bad character, and guilty of simony. The inquisitor certainly intended by this declaration to prevent the possibility of Redin's being elected to the grand-mastership, but it produced a very different effect; for the knights of his party thought

themselves obliged in honour to adhere to their first resolution: and notwithstanding the inquisitor again declared by his secretary, that Redin, from his ambition and the unworthy measures he had pursued to succeed in his election, was entirely excluded from the grand-mastership, the majority of votes was in his favour, and he was duly elected.

The inquisitor Odi, in despair at this event, protested against it: and Redin, in order to frustrate his designs, sent the pope the verbal process of his election; declaring at the same time, that if he was personally obnoxious to his holiness, he was very ready to resign his newly-acquired dignity. The pope, unwilling to give way to the dark passions of his inquisitor, and hurt that he should have compromised his authority, and that in opposition to a knight who was not only the minister of the king of Spain, but greatly esteemed by the majority of the knights, sent a brief to Odi, in which he declared his approbation of the election, and commanded the inquisitor to go in person and acquaint both Redin and the council, that he acknowledged him as a legitimate prince of Malta. Thus was the man who had opposed the election with the most violent fury compelled to proclaim it, and act as a herald on the occasion.

During the short reign of Redin, the coasts of the island were put in a state of defence against the attempts which the infidel Corsairs still continued to make; and towers were erected at certain distances along the shore, to which the

peasants of every separate canton repaired, and mounted guard alternately. The grand-master also established a fund from his own private property, for the subsistence of those employed for this purpose, and who watched during the night *.

The reign of Clermont was of still shorter duration than that of Redin: three months after his election he departed this life, universally regretted and esteemed by the order †.

He was succeeded by Raphael Cotoner, who, during the whole of his mastership, continued to send relief to the island of Candia; and all the reinforcements dispatched by other powers were constantly convoyed by the Maltese galleys. Louis XIV. assisted the Candians with a general and upwards of three thousand men: indeed, the relief sent to this place would have been much more considerable, and, according to all appearances, have saved the island, had it not been for a matter of etiquette, which occasioned its being most cruelly sacrificed. The Genoese had made an offer of a very powerful supply both of troops and money, and that on condition only of being treated as equals by the Venetians. The two republics had for a considerable time disputed this delicate affair; and the Venetians, jealous of their superiority, which their rivals seemed to wish to emulate, refused to purchase the offered relief, at the price of establishing equality between them.

* Redin died February 6, 1660.

† June, 1660.

The Maltese battalion distinguished itself particularly in the attack made on Santa Veneranda, near Suda, and seconded the efforts of the Christian army, which engaged the infidels sometimes successfully, and sometimes with great loss; it could however never retake Candia, which might properly be termed the arsenal of the Turks.

For the second time since the institution of the order, one brother succeeded another in the grand-mastership*. This dignity was successively possessed by Raphael and Nicholas Cotoner, two distinguished persons, whose characters I will here present to the readers.

The former was a prince truly worthy of the place he filled; prudent, pious, and magnificent in his expences. His only objects during his life were the defence of the Christian faith, the honour of the order, and the general welfare of the knights under his protection. Those of his own language erected a magnificent mausoleum, in which his remains were deposited, in the Arragonian chapel. The second, who by his superior parts had obtained the grand-mastership for his brother, owed his elevation to that dignity entirely to his own merit; and the same superiority of genius, during the whole of his government, rendered him always respected by those about him. Skilful in the art of negotiating, hardy in forming enterprises, and prudent in executing them, he had a friend in every knight of the order; careful in the choice of

* Raphael Cotoner died October 20, 1663.

his confidants, and without a favourite, he ensured himself a most glorious reign.


The Barbary corsairs (1664) having extended their depredations to the coast of Provence, Louis XIV., though at the height of his glory, and possessed of a powerful navy, thought the assistance of the Maltese squadron would be necessary against them. He accordingly requested relief from the grand-master, who sent his fleet to join the French at Mahon.

In order to curb more effectually the insolence of these Africans, and to check their progress, the king of France was advised to establish a colony on the coast of Barbary, to erect a fortress and open a port, which might serve as an asylum for his vessels, and likewise give information when the squadron of the infidels set sail on an expedition. The village of Gigeri was fixed upon for this purpose. It was situated close to the sea, between Algiers and Bugia, fifteen miles from each; and near this village was an old castle, built on the top of an almost inaccessible mountain. Louis XIV. made choice of the duke of Beaufort, high-admiral of France, to carry his plan into execution; and the two squadrons having, as already mentioned, met at Mahon, the Christians arrived at the destined spot, where they landed all their troops without interruption, and presently laid the foundation of the fort they had received orders to erect. The Moors, alarmed at an enterprise which they felt was intended to keep them in subjection, immediately took up arms, and with cannon-shot destroyed the works. The

duke of Beaufort, whose forces were too inconsiderable to enable him to resist the numerous enemies which poured upon him from every side, resolved to reembark. This design could not be formed so secretly, but that the Moors discovered his intentions, and four hundred men who composed the rear guard were almost all killed or made prisoners: thus ended an expedition as ill planned as executed.

Some years afterwards (1673) the French commanders and the knights had a dispute about giving the salute; and this delicate affair, in regard to a sovereign so jealous of his privileges as Lewis XIV., was managed with equal prudence and skill by the Maltese ambassador, who succeeded in engaging that monarch to decide against himself, and fix the right of the order relative to the salute, which no power has, from that time, ever attempted to dispute. The unfortunate campaign of the duke of Beaufort was followed by the most brilliant actions performed by the knights, which every day rendered the Maltese flag more and more formidable to the infidels.

The chevaliers Crainville and Tremicourt, who commanded the one a forty-gun ship and the other a frigate of twenty, met a caravan in the Levant, consisting of ten ships and twelve saicks, sailing from Alexandria to Constantinople. The comparative strength of the adversary only tended to inspire these two knights with fresh ardour; and they instantly brought up their little squadron in the centre of that of the enemy, sunk some, took four of the richest, two of the smallest, and dis-



persed the remainder. The chevalier d'Hocquincourt likewise, nearly about the same time, performed an action of almost incredible heroism, to the everlasting honour of his memory. This knight, while at anchor off the Dolphin island, saw himself blocked up by thirty-three of the grand-signior's galleys carrying troops to the isle of Candia. The flag-officer commanding this force landed, and, under his orders, showers of arrows poured upon the Maltese vessels from the most skilful of the archers. In the mean time the broadsides of the Turkish galleys were opened upon his ship; and the infidels, having succeeded in carrying away her rigging, prepared to board her both at the head and the stern; but Hocquincourt, as if invulnerable, defended himself on all sides, and, with a crippled vessel and crew, at length fairly beat off the Turk. This obstinate resistance greatly incensed the infidel general; who, ashamed of the slender efforts made by his galleys, forced them to open their line, and leave him a passage free to bear down on the Maltese vessel: at the same time he caused his crew to push forward his galley with all their force; but fortunately the violence of this effort threw Hocquincourt's ship out of the port, and a favourable wind springing up, he soon gained the nearest Christian port, after having sunk several galleys, and killed six hundred soldiers.

An act of such rare courage merited a happier fate than that which, a short time afterwards, befel this illustrious knight and truly Christian hero; for in the same campaign, being on board the same vessel, a violent gale of wind forced her on a rock near

the isle *Scarpanto*, where she was wrecked, and he perished with her.

The fate of the brave Tremicourt was equally disastrous: this knight was the brother of him already mentioned as cruising under the Maltese flag. After having captured a forty-gun ship from the Turks, he armed her afresh, and proceeded with a convoy commanded by the chevalier de Barre to the Alexandrian sea, where he descried two *sultans* laden with merchandise: he immediately made all possible sail to prevent their reaching the port, and being the faster vessel singled out the headmost, fired a broadside into her, and prepared to board her, but received a shot through the head from a musquet ball, and dropped upon the deck: this, however, did not prevent his exhorting his officers and crew to continue the action.

The infidels, in despair and finding it impossible to escape, the Christians having grappled them, attempted to blow up the vessel, hoping at least they should all perish together; but the chevalier de la Barre perceiving the dangerous situation of his friend, immediately abandoned the second *sultan* which he was on the point of taking, and, flying to his assistance, saved the vessel, but the valiant Tremicourt expired in his arms.

His brother, the chevalier de Tremicourt, seemed to have survived him for the sole purpose of revenging his death and surpassing him in glory. Being attacked by five large Tripoline vessels, he defended himself with such undaunted courage, that, after having dismasted two of them and killed numbers of their

crews, the infidels, finding it impossible to take him, gave up the attack. But, alas! this glorious action was too soon followed by a still more glorious death. Overtaken by a dreadful storm, and driven on the coast of Barbary, his vessel was dashed in pieces, and he himself made prisoner. The Moors, delighted at having so celebrated a warrior in their power, carried him first to Tripoly, where the extraordinary defence he had made against their squadron was the universal subject of discourse, and thence to Adrianople, into the presence of the sultan.

Mahomet III. reigned at that time. On perceiving Tremicourt, he immediately exclaimed, "Art thou the man who, with a single ship, engaged five of my largest Tripoline vessels?"—"The same," replied the undaunted knight.—"What country gave thee birth?" continued Mahomet.—"France," replied Tremicourt.—"Thou art then a deserter," said the sultan, "for the most solemn peace exists between the king of France and myself."—"It is true I am a Frenchman," answered Tremicourt, "but I am likewise a knight of Malta, and by that profession am obliged to venture my life against the enemies of the Christian faith."

The grand-signior, struck with such generosity and spirit in so young a man (Tremicourt being scarcely twenty-one years old), employed every possible method to seduce him, and engage him to enter into his service. The place of his confinement bore no resemblance to a prison: he was treated not only with

gentleness, but in a most distinguished manner ; and every advantageous offer which could captivate youth was made to induce him to change his religion ; he was even promised the hand of a princess of the Ottoman race, and at the same time to be appointed bashaw or high admiral. All these splendid offers he refused with indignation, and resisted temptation with the same courage with which he had so frequently triumphed over the infidels.

Mahomet, violently incensed at his firmness, thought severe methods might probably prove more successful. He ordered him therefore to be thrown into a dreadful dungeon; and during fifteen days he was not only cruelly beaten, but put to the torture, and even his limbs mutilated. All was however of no avail ; for this noble disciple of Christ Jesus employed himself solely in invoking his holy name, and imploring the favour of dying for the faith. After so many fruitless attempts to shake his fortitude, he was at last sentenced to lose his head : but his body was not suffered to remain at the place of execution ; for the grand-signior, wishing to remove it far from the veneration with which it would naturally inspire the Christians, ordered it to be thrown into the river which washes the walls of Adrianople.

In the mean time (1672) the Maltese galleys were constantly employed in the war then existing between the Turks and the island of Candia. The Venetians were so well satisfied with the repeated services they received from the order,

that they gave permission to the knights to appear armed, not only at Venice, but in every other part of their dominions;—a privilege which the natural subjects of the republic have never been allowed. Powerful supplies were likewise sent by all the Christian princes:—the duke de Navailles appeared with seven thousand French; the duke de Waldeck with three thousand men; four thousand five hundred Germans arrived at the same place; the Teutonic order contributed a company of a hundred and fifty chosen and well-armed soldiers; and Malta furnished a battalion of four hundred men.

The grand-vizier Achmet, tired out with the very long duration of this war, determined to repair in person to Candia, whither he was accompanied by a considerable body of troops. He immediately laid siege to the capital of the island, which could not possibly resist the force of his arms. The Maltese battalion, after having suffered a considerable loss, thought proper to retire from before a place which in a very few days had consumed most of the exterior supplies, the remains of which were saved with the greatest difficulty.

The taking the isle of Candia (Sept. 16, 1669), joined to the peace concluded between the Venetians and Turks, alarmed the grand-master with the idea, that they might be tempted to turn their arms against Malta. In order to make a proper defence against such an attack, the grand-master and council requested the duke of Savoy to send them a celebrated engineer named Valpego, who accordingly, by the duke's command,

arrived in Malta. He caused new fortifications to be erected, the first of which was called the Cotoner. This consisted in a large inclosure filled with bastions, intended as a retreat for the inhabitants, in case the island should be invaded by the Turks. Some new works were afterwards added to La Floriana, with a false braye and two bulwarks, the one on the coast of port Musceit, and the other towards the grand port. To shut out the entry of the latter more effectually, another fort was erected, named Ricasoli, from one of the commanders, who had presented the order with thirty thousand crowns towards this work. The grand-master some time after established a fund from his own private property, for the maintenance of this fort. A lazaretto was likewise built at port Marsa-Musceit, which has ever been regarded as one of the completest and best-regulated institutions of the kind.

In the former part of this history mention has been made of the change of religion which took place in England, and of the manner in which the sovereigns of that country had deprived the order of its possessions and persecuted its members. This conduct, it may be thought, must have left the deepest impressions of resentment for such proceedings; but those whose blood was shed for Jesus Christ, and in the cause of a religion which constantly preaches the forgiveness of injuries, had forgotten every thing but the loss the family of knights had experienced in one of its favoured children. Therefore, no sooner did they hear of the war declared be-

tween Charles II. of England and the court of Tripoly, than all the ports and arsenals of Malta were opened for the reception of the English and their navy, and supplies of provision and ammunition offered to the crews. They were there received into an hospitable land, which presented every moment to their view monuments erected to the memory of their ancestors, whose places in the order had never been entirely filled up; for if at any future period another language were to be created, those who composed it were held to give it the title of English, and that in preference to their own.

Charles II. was perfectly sensible of the hospitable reception given to his admiral and fleet, and accordingly wrote in the most obliging manner to the grand-master.

May this noble conduct be ever the only vengeance taken by the order! thus proving to its most cruel persecutors the virtue and real utility of those whom they have employed every method to annihilate.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned lazaretto, a dreadful plague afflicted the island, and destroyed a considerable number of its inhabitants. The knights suffered so cruelly by this misfortune, that in the caravans, when each galley contained twenty-one of these warriors, no more remained after this ravaging malady than eleven for that of the admiral, and nine for the other galleys.

CHAP. VII.

Caraffa, an Italian, elected to the Grand-Mastership. League formed by the Christian Powers, and by Malta, against the Turks. The Maltese Squadrons go on different Expeditions. Capture of Old Navarino, and of Napoli di Romania. Generosity of the Grand-Master Vignacourt. Earthquake at Augusta. The Order sends Relief to the Inhabitants of that Place. The Disputes between Malta and Genoa settled through the Mediation of the Pope, who likewise puts an End to those occasioned by the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in the Reign of Perellos. Statue erected in Honour of the Pope. The Sultana Bingham taken by the Galleys. A Squadron of first-rate Men-of-war re-established in Malta; its successful Expedition to Orem and the Coasts of Spain. Remarkable Conduct of the Commander de Langon; his Death. The Knights summoned to Malta. Reforms which take place. Zondodary appointed Grand-Master.

DURING the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years, there had been no grand-master elected of the Italian language; but Cotoner was now succeeded by Caraffa, a Neapolitan knight, who applied himself most assiduously to the regulation of affairs of the order, and to the completion of the different fortifications begun by his predecessor*. He almost entirely rebuilt fort St. Elmo, and put St. Angelo into a much better state of defence. He likewise interested himself extremely in

* Died 29th of April, 1680.

the war carried on by the Christian powers at that time against the infidels. The Turks having advanced close to Italy, pope Innocent XI. formed a league with the emperor, the king of Poland, and the republic of Venice, against this common enemy of the Christian faith; upon which, the Maltese squadron (1684) immediately put to sea, and cruising on the coasts of Barbary spread terror among the infidels, and drove them from the islands of Previsa and St. Maure. The knights who had joined the squadrons of Venice and the pope, distinguished themselves in the conquest of Corva (1685), and shone very conspicuously at the recapture of a fort, which the Turks had forced the Venetians to evacuate.

Several knights lost their lives at the sieges of Old and New Navarino, and likewise at that of the city of Modon; none of which places could hold out against such brave assailants. Napoli di Romania, the capital of the Morea, notwithstanding every possible effort employed by the serasquir for its relief, was obliged after a six-months' siege to open its gates to the confederate army. These last successes, however, were attended by the loss of nineteen knights, together with a great number of soldiers. But these campaigns, which it might be thought would have ruined the order, only increased its zeal for the cause, and in the next which took place, the grand-master himself equipped eight galleys. These spread universal alarm on the coast of Dalmatia, and being joined by the confederate fleets of Rome and Venice, took possession of Castel

Nuovo, a place of the greatest importance to the republic of Venice, since it absolutely insured to that government the free and unmolested trade of the whole Adriatic.

The bravery displayed by the knights in this enterprise induced pope Innocent XI. to write to the grand-master, to congratulate him on their distinguished conduct, and on the services they were continually rendering the different Christian powers. The brilliant victories obtained by the combined fleets, met, however, at last with a check, before the ramparts of the fortress Negropont (1689), where above twenty-nine of the bravest knights fell victims to the cause. Neither their undaunted valour nor that of their allies could succeed in carrying the fort, which they were at last obliged to abandon.

This loss affected the grand-master most sensibly, and, added to infirmities, contributed to shorten his days *. He was a man possessed of great military talents, joined to true religious humility, and an unfeigned love and attention for the poor.

The order had suffered so much in the different expeditions undertaken every year, that the widows, children, and relations of the brave Maltese, who had shed their blood in the same cause as the knights, were left in the most distressed circumstances. The new grand-master Adrian de Vignacourt liberally assisted them: the knights were also

* He died July 31, 1689.

eager to contribute to their necessities; and such was the universal benevolence, that it is scarcely possible to say who were the most worthy of admiration, he who gave so noble an example, or those who so generously followed it!

The munificence of Vignacourt on this occasion, did not prevent his giving attention to other objects. He built a fine arsenal for the galleys, enlarged the different storehouses, together with the ovens belonging to the order in Sicily. These were situated at Augusta, where all the biscuits were baked for the supply of the navy. This town was most unfortunately entirely destroyed by an earthquake (Jan. 11, 1693), which lasted three days, and which was even felt at Malta, where it did considerable damage. The moment the news arrived of the shocking situation to which the city of Augusta and its inhabitants were reduced, the Maltese, insensible to their own misfortunes, flew to the relief of those whose distresses called for their charitable assistance. Five galleys were immediately dispatched to Sicily, laden with every thing which could possibly contribute to alleviate the misery of these unfortunate people.

To sanctify this benevolent expedition, the grand-master put up public prayers throughout the island, and issued out an order for the observance of a three-days' fast. All public places were shut, and the usual diversions of the carnival prohibited for that year. Unfortunately for Sicily, a calamity of the same nature, in less than a century afterwards, called for the

assistance of the knights, who again appeared upon the scene, and performed the same charitable actions in an equally conspicuous manner.

Whilst some part of the knights were thus meritoriously employed at Augusta, the others were out at sea; and it was at this period (1694), whilst the members of the order were thus doubly occupied, that an attempt was made to weaken it by diminishing its possessions. The pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, on pretext of the expences incurred by the different wars they were obliged to engage in, ordered a levy of subsidies to be raised on the property of the order; happily, however, these sovereigns soon acknowledged un-animously the privileges of the order, and immediately desisted from their attempt.

The pope, who had hitherto been unable to adjust the disputes which had taken place between the order and the republic of Genoa, was at last chosen arbitrator in the affair. His holiness's prudent conduct succeeded in reconciling two powers, which had been disunited by very trifling worldly motives, and which the strongest reasons both religious and political should constantly attach to each other. This reconciliation having taken place, several Genoese reassumed the habit of the order, which they truly regretted having been deprived of so great a length of time.

On the death of Vignacourt (February 4, 1694), the electors were divided into several factions; but Raymond Pe-

rellos* was at last chosen by the majority of votes. He succeeded to a prince who was particularly distinguished for piety and purity of life. The justice and benevolence of his character rendered him universally esteemed; and the only reproach which could possibly be made him was, that he was too much influenced by some favourites, who unfortunately, on more than one occasion, sacrificed the glory of the master who honoured him with his confidence to their own private interest.

The order, which had hitherto very little relation with any other Christian states but those in which it had property, was both delighted and astonished at being requested to step beyond such narrow limits, and to form fresh connections with other foreign powers. Sacchitti, the Maltese ambassador at Rome, wrote to his court that a Russian, Boyard, general of the Muscovite army and ambassador from Peter the First, had expressed a wish to visit Malta, and in an harangue made before pope Innocent XII. had spoken on the subject in terms particularly flattering to the knights; declaring, "that after having seen the most celebrated town in the universe, the holy city of God, the sacred relics of the principals of the holy apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, having likewise received the blessing of his holiness the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, he was resolved to visit the most famous heroes of the church militant, the sacred order of Malta †."

* An Arragonian.

† *Decrevi in animo famosissimos quoque Militantis Ecclesiæ invisere Heroes, nimirum Sacrum Melitensium Ordinem.*

The same dispatches gave an account of the honours paid this Boyard and his suite. His name was Kzeremetz*; and Peter the First not only made choice of the persons who were to accompany his envoy, but gave them particular instructions relative to the principal objects worthy their attention in their journey†. This great prince left Moscow with them, but took another route at Vienna, intending however to rejoin them on the road, but was prevented from executing his design by the affairs of his state, which immediately required his presence.

When the grand-master communicated to the council that he expected the arrival of so great a person, whom Sacchitti had even announced as a relation of the czar's, it was determined that he should be received in the most distinguished manner. The ceremonial of his reception was arranged as follows: It was resolved that the grand-master (of the family of Perellos) should go to meet him, accompanied by a num-

* Voltaire, in his History of the Empire of Russia under Peter the Great, chap. viii. says, that he was originally a Prussian, and spells his name *Sheremeto*, though by others he is called *Sheremetow*, *Sheremotoff*, and *Czeremetoff*. L'Evêque in his History of Russia, the edition printed in 1800, calls him *Cheremeteff*; but I have written his name according to the credentials sent by the czar to the grand-master, in which he is termed *Kzeremetz*. The original of his harangue to the pope is preserved in the Vatican; I have a copy of it; and in that he is called *Kremer*: but in his discourse to the grand-master, of which I have likewise a copy, he is named *Czeremeter*; and *Szerempsen* in the letter of recommendation sent by the emperor Leopold to the grand-master. Sebastian Paolo has printed it in his *Codex Diplom.* vol. II. page 373. He has also printed his credentials.

† L'Evêque pleasantly remarks, that one of the Russian nobles was so much the slave of the prejudices of his forefathers, that he never quitted his apartment in any of the towns through which they passed in this tour, and boasted on his return, that he had neither seen nor learned any thing.

ber of the knights ; that, on his landing, he should be saluted at the Italian gate by the firing of twelve cannons ; that the master of the horse of the grand-master's palace should attend him on the shore with the second state-coach, and divers other coaches and calashes ; that the same retinue should follow him to the palace, and that the master of the horse should not quit him till he joined Perellos, who was to meet him in the antichamber nearest the great hall, and lead him by the right hand to the seat prepared for him in the most honourable place near the grand-master's, at whose table he should have precedence of the grand-crosses of the order ; that in St. John's church he should be seated in the place usually occupied by the bishops, and be allowed two velvet cushions ; that he should be lodged in the Cotoner palace ; and that the same ceremonial should be observed at his departure, as on his arrival. It was proposed that his expences should be defrayed by the treasury of the order, but to this the grand-master would not consent, and resolved to pay them from his own privy purse. Such disinterested generous conduct merited, and obtained, the sincere thanks of the council.

Kzeremetz left Rome attended by his two brothers and his suite, and embarked at Naples (May 11, 1698) in two feluccas for Malta. They were met on their voyage by the galleys of the order cruising off cape Passaro ; and the commander, chevalier de Cremeville, being ignorant of the decision of the council, received the Russian general on board the admiral's galley

by a discharge of only four cannons ; in other respects he was treated with the same distinction as if he had been acquainted with what had passed.

He landed in Malta on the 12th of May, when the above ceremonial was strictly observed. His harangue to the grand-master was in Latin *, and he began his discourse by declaring that he came from the Hyperborean Pole to pay homage to the celebrated warriors of the military order of Malta, and likewise to admire in the person of the grand-master, a chief as formidable to his enemies as beloved by his subjects ; he then proceeded by congratulating himself on being arrived at Malta, that angular rock which eclipsed the glory of the Turkish crescent whenever it presumed to approach its coasts, and concluded by thanking the grand-master for his flattering reception, and assuring him that he should not fail to give a faithful account of it to his master. Having finished his discourse, and received a most obliging answer, he delivered to Perellos a recommendatory letter from the emperor Leopold, enumerating the important services he had rendered him in his military capacity in different campaigns against the Turks, and the Khan of the Crimea ; and, at the same time, doing justice to his talents as negotiator in the treaties happily concluded between Poland and the emperor of Germany. On the back of the same letter was another from the czar of Muscovy address-

* He gave the master the title of *Serenissime Reverendissime Princeps*.

ed to the grand-master and council, in which he communicates to them his victories against the Turks, and the renewal of the league formed between himself, the emperor, and the republic of Venice, against the enemies of the Christian faith; he flatters himself that this intelligence will be agreeable to the knights, whom he hopes will take great care of his intimate friend the Boyard, *Boris Petrowitz Keremeter*; and finishes by assuring them, that his majesty the czar will never forget any kindness they may shew him.

The audience over, Kzeremetz was conducted to the Cottoner palace, the most spacious and magnificent dwelling in the city; and during the whole of his stay he was treated with the greatest hospitality and splendour. The 19th of May being fixed for his departure, he went to the grand-master's palace, where, with his two brothers, he was invited to dinner; but the grand-master first begged him to come into his apartment, and there acquainted him with the unanimous decree of council, by which he was requested to accept a cross the same as their own. To make this present of more value and still more sacred, it had been touched by a piece of the real cross, and by the hand of St. John the Baptist, patron of the order: two relics carefully preserved in the treasury. The grand-master added, that this mark of distinction had been unanimously decreed, still less on account of his illustrious birth than for his military exploits, his attachment to the order, and the sacrifice he had made in travelling from such a distant country pur-

posely to visit its chief place of residence ; and that for the future it was ordained, that the knights of the present time, and those who should succeed them, should ever remember him in their prayers, and make him a partaker in all their good works. Kzeremetz immediately knelt before Perellos, who placed round his neck a golden chain, from which was suspended the cross of Malta: this he received with every testimony of the profoundest respect ; and at the same time he was presented with the decree of council, assigning the reasons of his being decorated with the order.

Having dined with the grand-master, on whose right hand he was placed, he embarked the same evening with his suite on board two Maltese galleys, which took him to Cape Passaro, where he was met by the galley of the pope, in which he continued his voyage.

Some authors of the present day * have imagined that this embassy of Peter the First's was to conceal some future plans of conquest which he had already formed : but I am far from suspecting that to be the case ; for the conduct of this prince is very easily explained. Being convinced of the formidable power of the Ottoman arms—which, on the banks of the Pruth, were shortly to wither the laurels gathered at Pultava, and endanger his falling into the same hands as the conqueror of Narva—he thought it more prudent to be on good terms

* See *Recherches Hist. et Polit.* page 104.

with his former enemies; and having already concluded an alliance with Poland, the emperor of Germany, and the republic of Venice, it was therefore natural he should wish to encourage Malta to maintain a constant and desperate war against the infidels. His penetrating genius could not but prevent his entertaining a hope to conquer that island by force of arms; since he must be perfectly convinced that the Christian princes would oppose his success. The same genius must likewise point out to him, that Malta, no longer inhabited by the knights, would, in his hands, be a mere barren rock, incapable of yielding him the smallest advantage.

The ecclesiastical affairs, which had so frequently disturbed the peace of the order, had for some time remained in a perfectly tranquil state. They were again taken into consideration under the government of Perellos; but in a very different manner by the opposite parties,—the one side shewing the greatest moderation and obedience, whilst the other displayed the height of insolence and insubordination.

The disputes arisen between the bishop and the grand-prior of the church concerning their jurisdiction, which had only been appeased for a moment, were now judged by pope Innocent XII., and both parties submitted cheerfully to the decision of his holiness. The grand-master, from a principle of gratitude, erected a statue in honour of the sovereign pontiff, and placed it on the principal gate of the church of La Vit-

toria, with an inscription, stating the just reasons for such a tribute being paid to his merit*.

The reader is already acquainted with the original introduction of the tribunal of the inquisition into Malta, which conducted itself at first with so much moderation, that its existence was scarcely to be perceived. It never pretended to interfere with, or to oppose, an authority which was exercised (as has before been mentioned) by the most distinguished persons of the order; it was therefore never foreseen, that the inquisitors would in future *make themselves not only independent of, but insupportable to, a militia formed of the noblest blood of the Christian world, and to an order invested with sovereign power over its subjects*. This tribunal, which appeared so quiet at the beginning, only waited for an opportunity to break out with the greatest violence, and to form the most ambitious designs. The inquisitor Odi has already been seen attempting to exclude Redin from the grand-mastership; and now, one named Delci carried his pretensions to the highest degree of arrogance. He began by insolently demanding that the carriage of the grand-master should stop on meeting his; and afterwards insisted, that the infirmary belonging to the order should for the future be under his jurisdiction.

* Innocento XII. Optimo & Sanctissimo Pontifici, dissidiis compositis inter Ecclesiasticum & Magistrale forum exortis, utrique juribus pie servatis, pluribus commendis liberaliter restitutis: Em. & Rev. Dom. Fr. D. Raimondas de Perellos Roccafull, grato & unanimi omnium voto, tot tantaque beneficia æternitati dicavit. An. MDCIC.

This hospital, which had ever been regarded as the most privileged spot in the island, and into which even the marshal of the order could not enter without leaving his truncheon at the door, was entrusted to the care of some French knights, who were particularly zealous for their liberties, and who acknowledged no superior authority but that of the grand-hospitaler, who alone was permitted free entrance without leaving behind him the ensigns of his dignity; a ceremony to which all others of whatsoever rank were obliged to submit. Yet, even here, the officers of the inquisition had the audacity to enter by surprise, and to begin their visits of examination. But the moment the overseer of the infirmary was informed of their conduct, he obliged them to depart immediately, and declared null and void all their proceedings during his absence. The inquisitor, Delci, did not stop here; but, without the smallest attention to the rights of the sovereign, and to prove his own superiority, distributed a great number of the *patents* mentioned in a former chapter, declaring in the most absolute terms that every Maltese to whom they were granted became from that moment exempt from all obedience to the legitimate sovereign.

In order to curb, if possible, the culpable and scandalous conduct of this inquisitor, the grand-master, in 1712, dispatched an extraordinary ambassador to Rome, to complain of the improper proceedings of Delci. The overseer of the infirmary, the commander d'Avernes du Boccage, likewise went to France, and informed his christian majesty of the attempt

made by the inquisitor. The king wrote in the strongest manner to his holiness, whom he induced to disavow, and at the same time to repress, the enterprising spirit of Delci, who, however, escaped all punishment; for the pope and grand-master were too necessary to each other to fix the extent of the power to be exercised by the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a proper manner.

The Maltese navy had been so long used to triumph over the infidels, that the order could ill brook the smallest check to the glory of its arms, of which it was particularly jealous. Two Tunisian vessels (1700) being attacked by the galleys, effected their escape, owing to the wind changing in a moment. The grand-master and council, being either ill informed of the affair, or fearful that the knights who commanded the galleys had failed in their duty, immediately issued out a commission to enquire into their conduct; but after having undergone the strictest examination, they were honourably acquitted. The galleys, however, had very soon an opportunity of proving that they had lost nothing of their former reputation. The bailiff Di Spinola, who commanded them, perceiving a vessel belonging to the enemy on the coast of Sicily, without loss of time made up to her; and the main-mast of the admiral's galley being carried away in a gale of wind, Spinola determined to board her. Shortly after, the general's brother was mortally wounded whilst fighting by his side, and the action became extremely bloody. The grand-prior, a very old man, being unable to

stand without assistance, leaned on his valet-de-chambre, who being killed, the veteran was constrained to cling to whatsoever he could find to support him on the gangway, where he remained during the whole of the action, the success of which was interrupted by a most disastrous circumstance. The enemy's vessel being on the point of striking, ran foul of the admiral's galley and damaged her materially; and a south wind springing up at the same moment, which ended in a dreadful storm, the squadron was dispersed. The commander de Javon, captain of the St. Paul, repaired immediately to the relief of those who had been shipwrecked in the admiral's galley, fifty of whom he saved; among which number were the general Spinola and the prior of Messina. Javon still continued in the same place, hoping to be equally useful to those who remained in the vessel; and when his pilot remonstrated with him in the strongest terms, and represented the very great danger to which he was exposed, he replied, "Should I not be too happy to lose my single life, to save those of the whole crew?" The violence of the wind, however, drove him, contrary to his wishes, from this dangerous spot; where, together with those who fell in action, twenty-two knights and five hundred men perished.

The following year (1701) the galleys fell in with the *Sultana Bingham*, a large vessel of eighty guns, which they engaged and forced to strike. Her colours the grand-master ordered to be placed in the church of St. John of Aix, as an honourable mark of attention to the chevalier Ricard, who was

born in that city, and to whose valour the victory was principally to be attributed. The galleys still continued successful, and attacked the infidels even in the port of Goletto ; from whence they returned to Malta, bringing in a large vessel and a brig, taken from the enemy close under the cannon of that fort.

The Christians on the Mediterranean coast perceived with sorrow that, from the moment the order had ceased having men-of-war in the service, depending entirely on a squadron of galleys, the Barbary corsairs had built large vessels, with which they constantly captured Christian merchantmen ; and likewise landed on the coasts of Italy and Spain, where they pillaged the villages, and reduced numbers of families to a state of slavery.

For more than eighty years these Christians had looked up in vain to the knights of Malta, their former protectors ; but they had hitherto not been able to surmount the obstacles which prevented the re-establishment of the Maltese men-of-war : Perellos, however, assisted by the advice of his successor, the bailiff De Zondodari, determined to surmount these difficulties ; and prevailed on the council to enter into his plan, with more ease than he could possibly have expected. A sufficient sum being raised for the construction of these men-of-war, the chevalier de St. Pierre *, a captain in the

* A brother of the celebrated abbé de St. Pierre, author of *La Paix Universelle* (Universal Peace). The chevalier likewise published *Le Projet pour extirper les Corsaires de Barbarie* (A Plan for extirpating the Corsairs of Barbary). This last is printed in the works of the abbé St. Pierre.

French navy, was placed at the head of the undertaking ; and the first campaign (1706) was so successful, that the most brilliant expectations were formed for the future. This new squadron fell in with three Tunisian vessels ; the admiral's ship of fifty guns was taken, and added to the Maltese navy under the name of Santa Cruce.

The reader will perceive, in the course of this history, that the two squadrons of men-of-war and of galleys emulated each other, and distinguished themselves by acts of the greatest valour.

The Algerines having besieged Oran, the commander, de Langon, who was well aware of the extremity to which the place was reduced, sailed (1707) with his single vessel through the midst of the Algerine fleet; and—notwithstanding he was exposed to the enemy's continual fire, who, encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, used every possible effort to oppose him—he contrived to send a convoy with ammunition into the town. This same brave knight having likewise been informed (1708), that the famous bashaw, Ali-Antulla-Ogli Stamboli, was gone with four sultanas and a brig towards the coast of Calabria, where he proposed attempting a descent, immediately went in pursuit of him, and in a few days discovered the admiral's vessel, commanded by the bashaw. The crew consisted of six hundred men, and she was armed with fifty-six cannons and forty peteraroes. She was in company of a tartan, mounting twelve guns. To these

two vessels the St. John immediately set fire; and the Turks, unable to extinguish the flames, plunged into the sea. The Maltese shallops, however, contrived to save four hundred of the crew, with fifty Christian captives, who were in consequence so fortunate as to recover their liberty.

The coasts of Spain being continually ravaged by the piratical rovers, his Catholic majesty requested the assistance of the Maltese squadron of men-of-war, to enable his vessels to cruise in safety. The valiant Langon was again chosen for this honourable commission; and he had scarcely arrived at the place of his destination, when he perceived the vessel of the Algerine admiral, equipped with five hundred men. He did not hesitate a moment to attack her. The enemy made an obstinate defence; but at last struck, after having lost all her officers. This victory, however, cost the order dear; since it was attended by the loss of the commander of the squadron, whose undaunted courage and various excellent qualities made him universally regretted. His body was carried to Carthagená, and interred in the cathedral under the high altar. The grand-master, wishing to eternise his memory, caused an epitaph to be engraved on a tomb-stone, in the middle aisle of the church of St. John, which should announce to posterity his great exploits, together with the deep regret felt for his loss by the whole of the order. Brother Adrian de Langon, a relation of the illustrious deceased, and who equalled him in courage, commanded the St. Catherine, with which he attacked (1713)

seven Algerine vessels, took one named the Half-Moon, of forty guns, with four hundred men, and put the rest to flight. The following year the same brave officer sunk an Algerine corsair, of fifty-six guns and five hundred men. Indeed no year passed without some of the barbarian vessels being destroyed; and the squadron of men-of-war soon succeeded in totally annihilating all the large ships, which had for so long a time ranged the sea, and disturbed the peace of the Italian and Spanish coasts.

During the grand-mastership of Perellos, the order was twice under great apprehensions of being attacked by the grand-signior; and both times the knights displayed an equal degree of disinterested zeal for the general good. The moment they were informed of the danger which threatened the seat of government, both old and young flew to its relief (1715); and those whose infirmities prevented them from repairing to the island, sent all the money they possessed, whilst others disposed of the whole revenues of their commanderies in favour of the order at large.

Whilst the knights were making such generous sacrifices, Perellos again solicited the court of Rome not to bestow the most distinguished posts in the order on those who, never having shared the common danger, ought not in justice to partake the reward. He likewise entreated the pope, in the strongest terms, not to grant any briefs, either for bestowing the grand-cross, or for dispensing from residence in the con-

vent those whose services had not entitled them to such high favours.

The grand-master endeavoured, during the whole of his reign, to reform the numerous abuses which had crept into the order. He made regulations, by which he forbade the knights wearing gold and silver on their habits, and prohibited all games of hazard. He likewise greatly enlarged the store-houses built by Vignacourt; repaired all the fortifications throughout the island, and furnished them with every thing necessary to make an able defence. This prince distinguished himself particularly by his liberal conduct towards those families which had been ruined at different times by the infidels; and, during the whole of a reign of twenty-two years, he neglected nothing which could possibly contribute to the honour and splendour of the order*.

The general joy caused by the election of his successor, Zondodary, was much augmented by the capture of two large Barbary corsairs; and this victory was almost immediately followed by one still more important, in the taking of an Algerine vessel with five hundred men. Langon, who was then (1721) raised to the dignity of bailiff, still commanded the squadron appointed by the grand-master to guard the coasts of Spain; where no vessel of an enemy ever ventured to appear without being immediately taken. This being the case, it was no

* Died in January, 1720.

longer necessary to continue a cruise which had proved so advantageous to the king of Spain, and so glorious to the Maltese navy.

This grand-master did not long enjoy a post of which he had in every particular shewn himself so worthy. His uncommon piety and charity towards the poor were truly commendable; and he maintained a proper discipline throughout the whole order, still more by the prevalence of his own example than by his authority. Nothing, indeed, was wanting to fulfil the high expectations formed of his government, but that it should have lasted some years longer.

CHAP. VIII.

Villena, Grand-Master. New Fortifications built. Construction of Fort Manuel, since named the Floriana. Expedition of the Turks against Malta. Negotiations with the Porte. A Treaty nearly concluded with the latter. Presents made by the Pope to the Order. Despuig succeeds Villena. His short Reign.

ANTONIO MANOEL DE VILLENA, having filled the most eminent posts in the order in a very distinguished manner, was by universal consent chosen successor to Zondodary. Though his predecessors had made the greatest exertions to put the island in a state of defence against the incursions of the infidels, who were continually threatening to attack it, he did not think it sufficiently secure. He therefore built a considerable fort, which bore his name, Manuel. It is situate in the small island of the port Marsa Musceit, which the reader will remember was taken by the Turks at the famous siege of Malta, and was of most essential use to them on that occasion.

The grand-master was not satisfied with having thus secured one of the flanks of the citadel, but gave orders for tracing out a large spot of ground for a considerable suburb, to strengthen the land-side. This communicated with the city by the Port-royal, and was surrounded by the most magnificent fortifications hitherto seen. It originally bore the name of the founder; but has since has been usually called

by that of the engineer Floriani, who directed the works. That suburb, and the whole of the inclosure in which it stands, is named *la Floriana*. This engineer was a colonel in the service of the pope, who, at the earnest request of the order, had sent him to Malta. The knights had every possible reason to approve the choice of so able a man, and to be thankful for the condescension of his holiness in complying with their requests.

Villena caused two buildings to be erected in the same inclosure, which must ever be regarded as monuments of his magnificence and charity. These were two houses, the one serving for a retreat for old men, and the other for persons of both sexes whose maladies had been pronounced incurable. He endowed them out of his own private fortune; and till the year 1798 they continued to be the asylum of many suffering objects, who never ceased to bless the charitable hand which had thus secured them comfort in their old age, and consolation in their dying moments. This munificent prince also extended his generosity to the making provision for the maintenance of fort St. Elmo; for which he left a fund, that has always been employed for this useful purpose. His attention was not merely confined to the interior of the island; but, being not only a wise administrator but an able politician, he was determined to go beyond the limits hitherto thought impossible to pass; and accordingly eagerly embraced a fortunate opportunity of ingratiating himself with the court of France, and concluding a treaty with the most formidable

enemy the order had to fear; the only one, indeed, which could occasion him any real cause of disquiet for the safety and property of Malta, which he had strongly secured from the attacks of the powers of Barbary.

A slave named Hali, who had been redeemed at Malta by Mehemet Effendi, ambassador from the Porte to Paris, having returned into his own country, formed a plan to take the island, and no one was better acquainted than himself with its strength and means of defence: he had been much esteemed and favoured by the knights during his captivity, and had been ten years at sea in the galleys of the order, during which time he likewise acted as *liman*, or chief of the slaves at Malta. This man gave the Ottoman minister an account of the situation of the island, and persuaded him that it might be very easily conquered by the assistance of the mussulman slaves, who only waited for an opportunity to revolt, and who were then nearly as many in number as the inhabitants themselves. The forces he required for succeeding in this enterprise were so very inconsiderable (he having only demanded ten ships of war), that the grand-vizier listened to the proposal, and gave the command of the fleet destined for this expedition to the admiral Abdi; bestowing the rank of captain upon Hali, with a promise of the greatest rewards in case of success.

This fleet made its appearance in a very short time (1722) before Malta, but no sooner approached the coast than it was

received in such a manner, as to discourage the smallest attempt to land. The admiral, on his retreat, sent the grand-master a letter, written in the most scurrilous and contemptuous language, in which the sultan demanded all the slaves who might at that time be subject to the miserable government of Malta; threatening him, should he refuse, with direful vengeance, and concluding with these words—*send your answer to Tunis.*

The grand-master, hoping to obtain the redemption of the Christian captives, scrupled not to reply to this insulting epistle. He accordingly addressed a letter to M. de Bonnac, the French ambassador at the Porte, couched in polite and dignified terms, such as no prince, still less a private individual, should ever depart from. It perfectly explained the real spirit of the order, which, contrary to the too generally received opinion, is not to make continual war against the infidels merely on account of the difference of religions, without having the power of being at peace with those who have formed alliances with Christian princes. “Our order is not instituted,” says Villena in his letter, “for the purpose of ranging the seas “to make captives, but to cruise with its armaments to protect the navigation of Christian vessels; and it only attacks “those who obstruct commerce, and who, wishing to make “Christian captives, deserve to be reduced to slavery themselves. I have nothing so much at heart as to release the “mussulman slaves from their chains; and if the intentions of

“his highness are the same, I am ready to negotiate for the
“reciprocal liberty of the captives, either by exchange or
“ransom, according to the received custom between princes.
“His mightiness therefore has only to declare his intentions,
“which I will omit nothing to render effectual.”

M. de Bonnac presented this letter to the grand-vizir; and it was so well received, that he not only talked of the exchange, but of entering into a treaty with the order: and the French ambassador, being perfectly convinced that a peace between these two states would be both acceptable and advantageous not only to Malta but to the other Christian powers, was so zealous in the business, and employed himself so assiduously to conclude it with the grand-vizir, that the latter consented to sign the following articles, which had been already approved by the court of France, viz.

1. That the captives shall be reciprocally exchanged; and if there should be more in number on one side than the other, the remainder shall be delivered up at the rate of a hundred piastres each.
2. That no slaves shall be comprised in this exchange but those taken on board Maltese or Turkish vessels.
3. That this truce shall last for twenty years, and that when that time shall be elapsed each party shall be at liberty to negotiate a new one.
4. That the Barbary powers or African republics shall not

be comprised in this treaty, and that the Porte shall not assist them either directly or indirectly in their attempts against Malta.

5. That the Maltese shall enjoy the same privileges as the French in the Turkish dominions.
6. That this treaty shall be null whenever any Christian power shall be at war with the Porte.

The intelligence of this treaty was received at Constantinople with the most lively marks of approbation; but the captain bashaw was not a little displeased that any thing relative to maritime affairs should be transacted without his being consulted; he therefore persuaded all the officers of the navy to oppose it strongly, and thus induced the grand-vizir to hold a different language. This minister, perceiving the general discontent which reigned amongst these officers, thought he ought not to conclude the negotiation; he however acquainted the ambassador, that his views were still the same, and that it would be very easy to bring forward the business once more, if some method could be contrived to gain the consent of the naval officers, whose personal interest would infallibly in the end prevail on them to accede to the proposition.

Whilst this affair was negotiating, a Tunisian vessel accompanied by a tartan cruised between the islands of Marítimo and Pantaleria, and had taken two barks, the one a Sicilian and the

other a Genoese. The St. John ship of war, together with a frigate, went in chase of this vessel: the frigate came up with her, and, after an action which lasted four hours, the infidels were forced to strike. This vessel was an admirably fast sailer, and had been presented by the grand-signior to the dey of Tunis, whose patron he was. She carried forty-eight guns, with fourteen petararoes, and four hundred men. The action over, only two hundred and sixty-seven Turks remained; and this capture was the means of delivering thirty-three Christian slaves. The chevalier de Cambray commanded the frigate; and the St. John having taken the tartan, the two prizes were carried into Malta.

Such was the zeal of the grand-master, and the vigilance of the Maltese navy, in keeping off the pirates from the coasts of Italy, that pope Benedict XIII. as a conspicuous proof of his affection towards Villena and the order, sent a gentleman of his bedchamber to Malta, to present to that prince the estoc (rapier) and helmet, which had been blessed with great solemnity at the festival of our Saviour's nativity. This present Villena received with the deepest gratitude, and he regarded it as a fresh motive for signalling himself more than ever in the practice of all those virtues which distinguish the sovereign and the order. It was the constant exercise of such virtues which, during the whole course of his mastership, justly gained him the esteem of his brothers, the respect of his sub-

jects, the friendship of the European princes, and the paternal affection of the sovereign pontiff*.

Raimond Despuig, of a distinguished family in Majorca, succeeded Villena: his reign, though extremely short, was rendered illustrious by his great piety and wise administration†.

* Died the 12th of December, 1736; and not the 20th of February, 1737, as stated by the author of the Journal of Lewis XIV.

† Died at Naples, 15th January, 1741.

CHAP. IX.

Pinto elected Grand-Master, and on the Point of being made King of Corsica. A Conspiracy formed by the Slaves. A Bashaw of Rhodes concerned in the Plot, which was very nearly carried into Execution. The Manner in which it was discovered. Some of the Criminals receive Punishment.

EMANUEL PINTO DE FONSECA, the successor of Despuig, was descended from one of the noblest families in Portugal. His reign was long and glorious, though not distinguished by any of those striking military exploits which render princes illustrious in the pages of history; but it may be justly said, that the wisdom and vigour of his administration was such as to deserve and obtain the love of his people, together with the esteem of the neighbouring powers. The fame of his great qualities induced the Genoese to think of giving up to him Corsica, the inhabitants of which would not submit to be governed by Genoese laws: but the secret views of France, which from that time formed the plan of uniting that island to its possessions, together with other considerations relative to the political situation of the order, put an end to a scheme which, had it been carried into execution, would have been more glorious than solidly advantageous to Malta. It is well known that the Maltese were happy under the go-

vernment of Pinto, and that, during the constant wars which at that time ravaged Europe, the neutrality of Malta was always respected; but who can say whether, as king of Corsica, he could have ensured the happiness of a people who never yet were contented under any of the governments to which they have been subjected? or whether he could possibly have maintained that perfect tranquillity, which is seldom the lot of small states, when the greater powers, their neighbours, are in a state of warfare?

Malta, though constantly engaged in foreign wars, was perhaps the only state which could boast of having enjoyed an uninterrupted interior peace from the moment of its foundation. The infraction of this peace had its rise in a conspiracy, the particulars of which I will relate to the reader, as it proves that the Maltese people were too well convinced of the paternal government of the order, and valued it too much, to engage in the plot: it will at the same time shew, that the mildness of the yoke imposed upon the slaves had nearly proved fatal to the island.

The number of Turkish or Moorish slaves in Malta consisted, at that time, of about four thousand; some of whom were distributed on board the galleys, and formed the principal part of their crews, whilst others were employed in the different arsenals and magazines, and the public works at the ports, fortifications, &c. Individuals also received many into their houses as domestics; and most of the grand-crosses retained

them in their service, as valets, grooms, and cooks. The grand-master admitted them into his palace, where they acted in the same capacities. Two of them were particularly employed as valets-de-chambre, and slept in an apartment close to the bedchamber of the grand-master, into which they were permitted to enter at all hours, either by day or by night.

So great was the fancied security of the order, and such their confidence in these people, that on board the galleys the slaves acted at the stern, and waited upon the captains and knights, who found them particularly exact and faithful; indeed, there was not one of the inns of the different languages where they were not employed in the kitchen. Among so great a number of slaves, those only were confined in the prisons or bagnios who were occupied in the public works; the others lived constantly with their masters, and the greatest part passed their lives so pleasantly, that very few were desirous of obtaining their freedom and returning to their own country: yet these very men were on the point of repaying such kindness by cruelly assassinating their benefactors! It is not however probable, that of themselves they would ever have formed so atrocious a design, had they not been excited to the act by conspirators, whose plots I am now about to unfold.

Some Christian slaves, who composed the crew of a Turkish galley, had revolted, taken possession of the vessel, and carried her triumphantly into Malta. The commander was the bashaw of Rhodes, one of the greatest men in the

Ottoman empire, and who had a brother, not only the chosen favourite of the sultan, but possessing one of the most eminent posts in the state.

The order, unwilling to draw upon itself the forces of the grand-signior, and desirous to conciliate the court of France, to oblige which the Maltese squadrons had discontinued cruising in the Levant, resolved to present to that power this illustrious prisoner, whom they immediately sent to the bailiff du Boccage, the French minister at Malta. At the same time the grand-master and the order at large wrote to his Christian majesty, who was much pleased with this action and the deference shewed him on the occasion.

The apartment of the bashaw was in a beautiful garden, situated in the Floriana. He was attended by his own domestics, who had been restored to him, and he was allowed to the amount of one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling monthly, for the expences of his household. So great, indeed, were the attentions shewn him, that he was permitted to receive the visits of the Turkish slaves. But this generous proceeding had nearly been attended with the most fatal consequences,

A negro who had headed the revolt by which the Christian slaves had possessed themselves of the Turkish galley, together with its commander, and who was discontented with the reward he had received, only wished for an opportunity to obtain a still greater. In order to deserve it, he attempted one of those hardy enterprises, the event of which either leads

to the highest honours, or conducts to the scaffold. He therefore proposed to the bashaw to put him in possession of the city La Valetta, and consequently of the island, of which it was the capital, the principal fortress, and the residence of the order. Such an important service rendered to the Ottoman empire would, he thought, not only obtain his pardon for his original revolt, but ensure for himself the most distinguished favours and rewards.

The bashaw was justly sensible of the importance of such an enterprise, which, should it succeed, would be personally useful to himself, and entirely obliterate all remembrance of his having unfortunately lost his galley: at the same time he was convinced that his sovereign would be pleased with him for a conquest, which his predecessors had vainly attempted by the force of arms. These considerations induced him to neglect nothing in his power to promote the scheme proposed by the negro. Amongst his attendants was a secretary, a man of sense, and much better informed than the generality of the Turks; who spoke French and Italian extremely well, and was perfectly versed in most of the Oriental languages. This man was employed as principal agent in the affair; and it must be allowed, that a better choice could not have been made.

The slaves being permitted to attend the bashaw gave him an opportunity of holding assemblies in his own apartments, and it was in these meetings that this conspiracy was formed in the most secret manner. This plot was particularly

dangerous, because no person had the slightest suspicion of it.

The festival of St. Peter, and of St. Paul, the first patron of the island, was always celebrated at Malta with singular solemnity. The inhabitants of both towns and country repaired in crowds on that day to the Old City, as being the ancient capital of the island, and the residence of the bishop of Malta. The conspirators therefore made choice of this festival to attempt the seizure of the city of Valetta; the inhabitants of which, together with most of the knights, usually left the grand-master in the morning, and indeed frequently the evening before, in order to repair to the Old City. This absence the conspirators thought a favourable opportunity to possess themselves of the principal posts in the city; and the great heat at that time of the year inducing most people to indulge in sleep after dinner (in that country termed the *siesta*), they resolved to avail themselves of that moment to begin the massacre, not only in the palace, but in private houses.

One of the Turkish slaves, who attended on the grand-master as valet-de-chambre, and who was much beloved by his lord, was fixed upon to enter Pinto's apartment to cut off his head, and expose it from the great balcony of the palace. This was to serve as a signal to the other slaves to murder their masters. Some indeed amongst them were to be spared this crime, by the commission of one, if possible, still more dreadful; poison being distributed to all those who were employed in the

kitchens of the palace and the inns of the different languages, by which means every one who sat down to table that day must have infallibly perished.

It was likewise proposed, that, whilst this massacre was taking place, other slaves should rush into the palace by the four different doors, who, being reinforced and assisted by those employed within, should disarm the guard, and forcing their way into the armory, distribute arms amongst their comrades, who, scattered about in different parts, would assemble together at the first signal. These villains thus armed were to form themselves into different corps, which were immediately to repair to the city gates, the arsenal, fort St. Elmo, and the two cavaliers near the royal gate. Once possessed of these posts, they had agreed on a signal to be given to the flotilla belonging to the Barbary powers, who were already acquainted with the plot, and whose arrival was the more impatiently expected by the conspirators, because the success of their enterprise entirely depended on their assistance; for the slaves were perfectly convinced, that their force alone would be very insufficient to maintain them for any length of time in a place so well defended by extensive fortifications as the city Valetta.

This dreadful conspiracy was planned with consummate art and secrecy, but was discovered by an event entirely foreign to the plot.

A young Persian, who had been forced to quit his own

country and wander about the world, had enlisted himself a few months before as a common soldier in the grand-master's company of guards. The negro, who was the original conspirator, cast his eyes on this young man, as a person who might be extremely useful in the affair. He therefore contrived to seduce him from his duty, and commissioned him to change the cartridges of the soldiers on guard at the palace. These two men usually met in a coffee-house solely resorted to by the slaves. It was kept by a Jew, who had a wife and child; he himself was a new convert, and was not only acquainted with the conspiracy, but was to act a principal part upon the occasion.

The negro and the Persian, in one of their meetings at this coffee-house, became heated by the fumes of tobacco, and the spirituous liquors which they had taken too freely: they began to dispute most violently, and in the heat of argument some imprudent expressions escaped them, which were overheard by the Jew's wife, and gave her the greatest uneasiness.

From words the negro and Persian proceeded to blows; and the former was so carried away by passion, that he drew his stiletto, and attempted to stab his adversary, who however made his retreat unhurt. Terrified at the danger he had escaped, and reflecting upon the still greater which threatened him, the Persian did not lose a moment, but flew to the commander de Vignier, who was commandant of the grand-

master's guards, and throwing himself at his feet implored his protection, and declared all he knew of the conspiracy. His officer received him well, put a variety of questions to him, and, after listening attentively to his answers, dressed himself hastily and repaired to the grand-master, accompanied by the Persian.

In the mean time the Jew reproached the negro in the bitterest terms for his violent conduct, which had exposed them all to the most imminent danger; but he received no other answer than threats and curses. The moment the negro quitted the coffee-house, the Jew's wife, terrified at all that had passed, entreated her husband to go without loss of time, and reveal the whole affair to the grand-master himself. He accordingly set out immediately for the palace, and appearing alone before Pinto, fell on his knees, and declared every particular relative to the conspiracy. At the same moment arrived the commander de Vignier with the Persian, who, being confronted with the Jew, confirmed the truth of what he had advanced. The grand-master was convinced of the reality of the plot, and orders were given to apprehend the negro.

A tribunal was instantly formed to take cognizance of the affair, and no one was refused admittance. The Castellan (that office was always filled by a knight, as representative of the sovereign), according to custom, presided in this assembly, composed of the judge in criminal cases, some learned

and upright magistrates, together with four assessors chosen from among the most able in the profession.

No sooner was the negro brought before the tribunal than he confessed his crime, and impeached several of his accomplices. They successively appeared, were heard, and their depositions taken, without the name of the bashaw being mentioned. The causes of suspicion were however so strong, that it became a necessary precaution to secure the persons of those attached to his household; as to his own it was sacred, and under the safeguard of the king of France, from the moment the grand-master and council had committed him to the care of the French minister. Many of his domestics were accused, and brought before the tribunal; the rest were forbidden to hold the smallest communication either with the slaves belonging to the order or with those who were the property of private individuals.

Nearly a hundred of the conspirators had been apprehended and convicted, and the inhabitants of Malta had testified the greatest joy at being delivered from such a perilous situation, when a discovery was made that they were still threatened by new dangers.

Such of the conspirators as had not been denounced preferred risking their lives in the execution of their plot, because there remained some chance of escaping the rigorous sentence of the law. This consideration made them resolve to make one last effort; and on this occasion (alas! there are but too

many examples of it), the human heart evinced its greatest depravity. Benefits conferred were no safeguards against the blackest ingratitude, nor could the remembrance of acts of kindness wrest the dagger from the murderous hand raised to strike its benefactor. Those very slaves who, loaded with favours by their masters, preferred their service to returning free to their own country, persisted in the cruel design of assassinating them. Neither the knights nor any of the inhabitants met with one example of a heart open to the sentiments of compassion and gratitude; and if the grand-master escaped from the murderous steel of his confidential valet-de-chambre, it can only be attributed to want of energy at the moment of execution, and not to the smallest remorse of conscience, which, by making the conspirator feel the enormity of his crime, would have prevented the attempt. This wretch, to whom Pinto was singularly attached, and whose post gave him an opportunity of entering at all hours into his master's apartment, the day after the discovery of the plot went several different times into the bedchamber of the grand-master, who, though surprised and vexed at such frequent interruptions, the cause of which he was far from suspecting, spoke to him with the greatest goodness and gentleness, saying, *Che voi figlio?—Cosa voi?* "What do you want, my child?—what do you want?" To these words the Turkish slave made no reply, but, melting into tears, retired. He however continued for twenty-four hours afterwards to perform his functions as

usual, without revealing the crime he was on the point of committing. That he had not been impeached was the only remaining hope left this monster; but that was destroyed the following day, when being accused by his accomplices, and sent from the palace, he immediately confessed the truth of the charge. Pinto could scarcely be induced to believe the villany of his valet-de-chambre; and such was the attachment of this excellent prince, that he even went so far as to express a sentiment of regret at being deprived of the services of this most criminal of men.

The bashaw still remained behind the scenes: not one of the criminals had as yet mentioned his name; but he was at last accused, and all the subsequent depositions sufficiently proved, that, if he were not the original planner of the conspiracy, he was at least perfectly acquainted with the whole affair;—that it had been submitted to his opinion; that he entirely approved of it; and that the conspirators looked up to him, as to their chief. His secretary, being apprehended, proved his guilt still more clearly, by confessing the contents of the letters he had written to Constantinople, Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoly. This last avowal furiously incensed the Maltese people against the bashaw, and they clamoured loudly to have him given up to justice: he was however saved, though with great difficulty, out of respect to his most Christian majesty; and in order to preserve him

from the resentment of the public, he was sent to fort St. Elmo, where he remained till the arrival of a frigate from Toulon, in which he sailed for Constantinople.

Nearly sixty of the most criminal among the conspirators expiated their crimes on the scaffold. Several of those who perished by the hand of the executioner were converted to the Christian religion before their deaths, and shewed signs of the deepest remorse ; some of those who remained firm in the faith of their ancestors displayed the most uncommon fortitude, and died with almost incredible stoicism. The negro indeed, was of all others the least courageous ; but the secretary of the bashaw in his last moments was distinguished by firmness truly Christian, and at the same time by rather a singular circumstance. Having been particularly acquainted with the chevalier de Turgot, who acted as godfather at his conversion, he intreated him, through the intervention of the French minister, to recommend the children he had left at Constantinople to the protection of the king of France ; but the instant before his execution he reflected that such an act would be a want of confidence in the divine goodness of the Saviour of the world : he therefore requested that the French minister might not write in favour of his family ; adding, that the same God who had so lately saved him from perdition was sufficiently powerful to protect those whom he left behind him in the world below.

This conspiracy, in some of its inferior branches, extended even to the Maltese galleys *; and it had been planned that on the same day, the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, their crews should revolt, and the slaves attending on the knights murder their masters. Fortunately, however, an advice-boat arrived in time to acquaint the general with the plot, who took proper measures to prevent its execution, and to preserve the most perfect tranquillity on board his galleys.

* These were commanded by the bailiff de Maraselly, a Florentine, who at that time was cruising on the flat shores of the Roman coast.

CHAP. X.

The Christian Slaves on board a Sultana revolt, and carry the Vessel to Malta. The Court of France purchases it, and restores it to the Grand-Signior. The French Squadron joins that of the Order. Ximenes Grand-Master. A Conspiracy formed by the Priests. Capture of St. Elmo. The Rebellion soon quelled. Remarkable Conduct of the Bailiff de Rohan. Death of Ximenes.

THE great dangers Malta had escaped rendered it absolutely necessary that some method should be adopted to prevent them in future. Orders were therefore issued, that from that time the slaves attending on the knights and private individuals should be obliged to retire to the bagnios, or prisons for the slaves, at sun-set; and there remain till sun-rise the following morning. The next consideration was to bestow some reward on those who had discovered the conspiracy. The Persian soon proved unworthy the favours conferred on him, and was sent out of the island: as to the Jew, a pension was granted to him and his descendants; he had too a house assigned him, over the door of which was an inscription, stating the important service he had rendered the order. The grand-master and the council, wishing to perpetuate the memory of this event, caused the anniversary to be constantly celebrated; and it continued to be observed till the

fatal period when other conspirators, whose crimes were of a very different nature, delivered up Malta into the hands of the French.

The deference and respect shewn to the court of France by the order, in the affair of the bashaw of Rhodes, were afterwards amply recompensed by his Christian majesty, whose interference again prevented the Turks from besieging Malta; the grand-signior being particularly incensed against the order, on account of the capture of one of the principal vessels belonging to his navy, which happened in the following manner.

The bashaw Mehemet, going to levy the taxes in the islands of the Archipelago, anchored towards the end of September (1760) at Stamio, where he disembarked the greatest part of his crew. The Christian slaves who were left on board determined to take advantage of his absence to possess themselves of the vessel; they therefore, to the number of seventy-three, fastened down the hatches on the rest of the crew, and, cutting the cable, set sail. After a voyage of eighteen days, they reached Malta; the inhabitants of which island perceived, on the 6th of October, a large Turkish vessel making signals that they could not understand. It was some time before they ventured to approach her; but at last they boarded her, and towed her into the great port. This vessel was a first-rate, very richly laden. The Christian slaves generously presented the ship to the order, and divided its cargo among themselves.

The grand-signior, irritated beyond measure at such a

considerable loss, prepared a powerful armament the following year (1761), to revenge himself on the order; which, on the other side, neglected nothing to put itself in a proper state of defence, calling together the knights who were dispersed in different parts, and who all eagerly hastened to their respective posts. But the solicitations of the court of France prevented this affair being pursued, and it was terminated by his Christian majesty's sending the bailiff de Fleury to Malta, where he purchased the Turkish vessel, which he immediately sent as a present to the grand-signior.

France, the powerful support of Malta, had in return a faithful and zealous ally in the order. That court being dissatisfied with the Tunisians, who had not respected the French flag, declared war against them, and gave notice of it to the grand-master, who felt particularly happy in reinforcing the French fleet with a squadron of galleys, and at once shewing the tenacity of the order to the duties of its institution, and its gratitude for past favours.

The two united squadrons began by bombarding different places on the coast of Africa; and the Maltese galleys never quitted the French fleet till it was resolved that they should both return to their respective ports. The commander of the French squadron, M. de Browe, expressed the high sense he had of the zeal of the order, as indeed did his sovereign, and bestowed the warmest encomiums on the conduct of the knights and the good behaviour of the crews.

Pinto continued constantly fortunate in all his undertakings, and died January 24, 1773, after a reign of thirty-two years, greatly regretted by his order; which, however, he had governed in a much more despotic manner than any of his predecessors: he was, nevertheless, sincerely lamented by all his subjects, who had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity under his firm and vigilant administration. He was endowed with an elevated mind, engaging manners, lively wit, and much learning. He was highly esteemed by all the Christian powers; and such was the great energy of his conduct, that during the various wars which disturbed the peace of Europe his neutrality was constantly respected.

His successor, Francis Ximenes de Taxada, was named to the grand-mastership at the age of seventy, and did not possess that activity and vigour of character so necessary in some particular situations of a state. Malta, which had so lately crushed the conspiracy of the slaves, was upon the point of seeing another burst forth, which had been formed and nourished in the very heart of the government.

The order having obtained leave from the pope that the jurisdiction of the inquisitor and the distribution of patentees should be subject to some restrictions, the ecclesiastics of Malta wanted no greater cause to shew their discontent. This corps was very numerous, and the privileged or patentees belonged to some of the greatest Maltese families, consequently had no small influence in the island. They had

also a still greater, on the score of religion, over the minds of a superstitious people; and they took advantage of this circumstance to induce them to throw off the authority of their legitimate sovereign.

Notwithstanding the particulars of this plot were closely concealed, it however transpired that the minister of a power which had been long ambitious of possessing a port in the Mediterranean had been concerned in the affair. The marquis de Cavalcado*, minister to Catherine II. has since been named; but he absolutely denied that he had acted in a manner so unworthy that great princess. What, however, gave the greatest cause of suspicion that some crowned head supported the rebels was the natural question, what they could possibly hope from the success of their enterprise, without some very powerful foreign assistance?

Whatever might have been the intentions of Russia at that period, she has since made ample reparation for the conduct imputed to her; for to her the order owes its preservation: at the same time that it must be grateful to England, for the restitution of its principal place of residence.

In all elective states, there are constantly some persons near the throne who either aspire to the sovereign dignity themselves, or are jealous of the rival who holds the reins of government; it was therefore reasonably suspected, that some

* Ransijat.—See Mirabeau, *Doutes sur la Liberté de l'Escaut*; and *Recherches Historiques et Politiques*, page 106.

among the members of the order were not ignorant of the plan formed by the conspirators, whose plot at last became manifest, and from three to four hundred possessed themselves of the fort St. Elmo. The bailiff de Rohan, universally esteemed by the knights, was immediately appointed general of the land and sea forces. The valour and unanimity of the members and troops of the order, under the command of so respectable a chief, presently succeeded in retaking the fort, and destroying the root of the sedition. Some of the principal rebels were delivered up to justice: whilst others were either banished or imprisoned;—a pernicious and ill-timed clemency, since we have seen the same turbulent spirits make no small figure in the late disasters of their country.

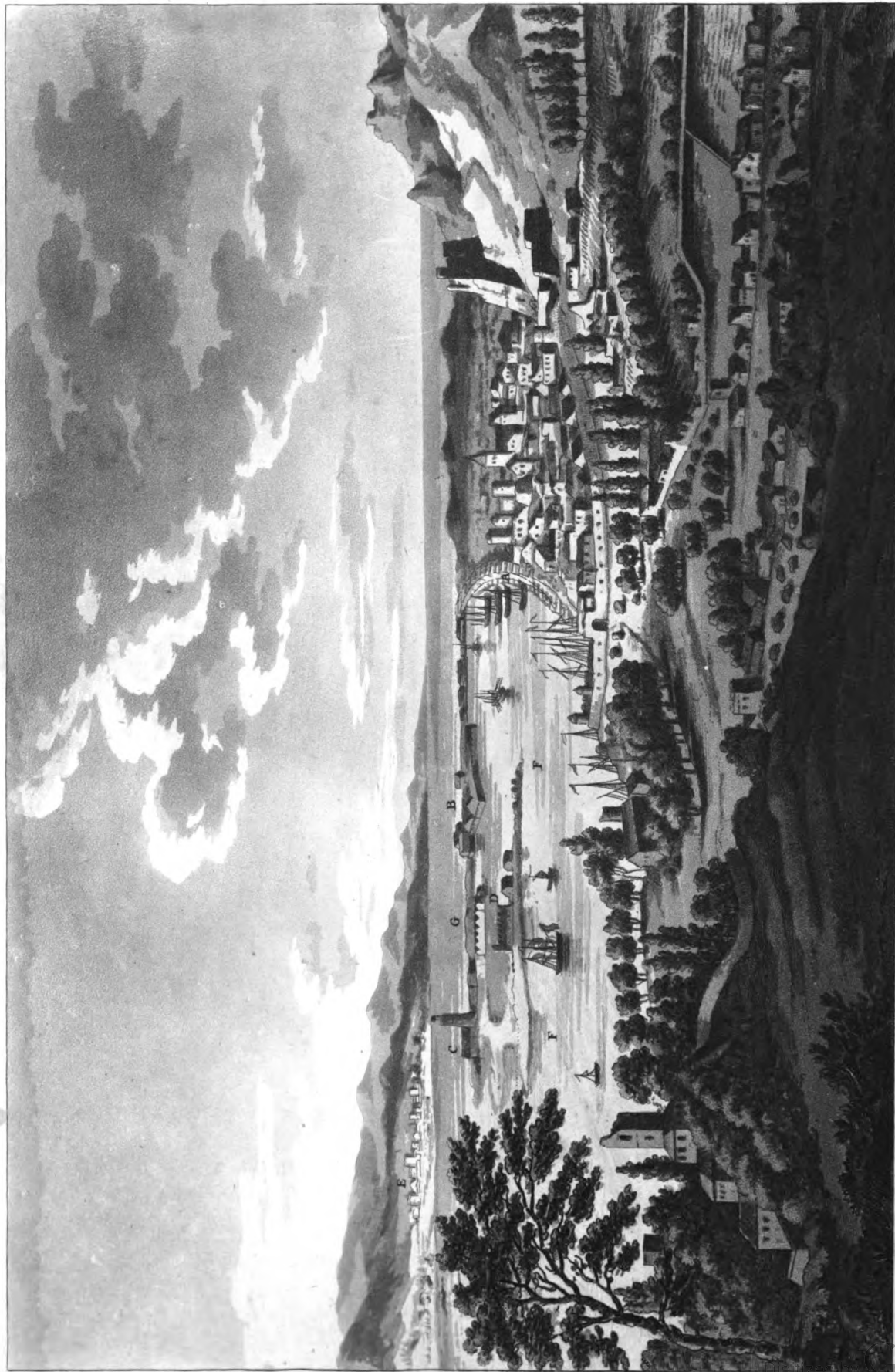
The people could never be prevailed upon to join in this rebellion, notwithstanding those were concerned in it who had the greatest influence over their minds. They felt too happy under the government of the knights to wish for any change: and the plot was entirely formed by two orders of men; the first of which was composed of the priests, who wished to throw off all temporal and legitimate authority, to submit themselves to a spiritual and illegal power, from which they promised themselves the dangerous privilege of governing the consciences of their fellow-citizens. The second consisted of some Maltese of infamous characters, who, finding themselves without resource under a wise and enlightened administration, hoped to profit by the general disorder which always

reigns during the destruction of an old government and the establishment of a new one.

The general indignation which took place among the Maltese at the dreadful conduct of the priests and some few of their fellow-citizens did not console the grand-master for this terrible event, the first of the kind which had ever sullied the annals of the order : so great indeed was his affliction, that he survived it but a very short time*.

* He died November the 9th, 1775.

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



A. La Palazzo or the Theatre a range of fine
Buildings on the Magnificent Quay.
B. La Maddalena.
C. Fort S. Salvador.

Birds-eye View of the City & Port of Messina

D. Lazaretto.
E. Reggio.
F. The Port.
G. the Channel or Faro.

Published by J. B. Colnaghi, London, May 1, 1814.

ANCIENT AND MODERN
MALTA.

VOLUME II.—PART II.



Portrait of the Grand Master Emanuel de Rohan.

Published by T. B. Spence, London, 1784.

HISTORY

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

BOOK III.

FROM THE ELECTION OF THE GRAND-MASTER ROHAN (1775) TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAPTER I.

Rohan elected Grand-Master. Raising of the Maltese Regiment. A general Chapter held. Reforms made in the public Schools, and in the Administration of Justice. The Observatory built; and afterwards destroyed by Lightning. The Possessions belonging to the Order of St. Anthony added to those of Malta. Creation of a new Language called the Anglo-Bavarian. The Restoration of several Commanderies situated in Poland.

NO election was ever so prompt as that which raised the bailiff de Rohan to the dignity of grand-master; he was indeed so universally approved and desired, that it was merely as a matter of form that the ceremonials took place *. This sovereign was of the French language. His father, having been persecuted by the regent of France, Philip duke of Orleans,

* 12th November, 1775.

took refuge in Spain; and his son Emanuel de Rohan, being engaged in the service of that country, attached himself to the infant don Philip, duke of Parma, in whose household he enjoyed the most distinguished posts: these, however, he gave up; more, perhaps, from a sentiment of independence, than from any cause of discontent; and returned into France, whither he had been invited by his family. His stay in that country was not long; and he determined to fix himself in Malta, where he always lived in the most honourable manner, till his nomination to the grand-mastership. Such was the situation of the order, that it required the most unremitted attention. This he perfectly knew, and acted accordingly.

The late insurrection too plainly proved how very little the order was capable of making a defence in the interior of the island; it therefore appeared necessary to remedy the evil. The other Christian powers also felt the necessity of obliging Malta to secure itself against the bold attempts of an interior enemy; and their reasons for so doing appeared to them in so strong a light, that they absolutely threatened to provide for the safety of the island themselves, if the order neglected giving proper attention to its security. That being the case, a regiment of infantry was levied on the same plan as those at that time subsisting in France, except indeed that all the officers were to be knights. As to the soldiers, they might be either Maltese or foreigners. The French government gave permission for recruiting parties to be stationed at Lyons and Marseilles; and the pope granted the same liberty at Avignon.

This command was given to the Bailli de Freslon, an officer of distinguished reputation in the French service; and a better choice could not have been made for forming a corps, which, though particularly useful to the order, might sometimes, perhaps, become troublesome. The regiment was soon complete, and disciplined in such a manner as perfectly to answer the end proposed. The Christian powers were now satisfied, and did not insist that any more regular troops should be levied. This regiment being destined to do duty at the city La Valetta and the different forts, a corps of twelve hundred men was raised for the defence of the country and the coasts: this consisted entirely of Maltese, who were to be incorporated with the numerous regiments of militia, in case of an attack, or of a descent of the enemy.

The grand-master felt the impossibility of succeeding in the plans he had projected for the good of the order, without some more effectual assistance than the power vested in the council, he therefore convoked a general chapter, at which he presided himself, and where the principal objects taken into consideration were the finances of the state, the manner of their administration, and the making a new assessment of taxes on the possessions of the order. The regulations relative to the hospitals were improved, the revenue encreased, and particular days in the week fixed upon for the knights of the different languages to attend on the sick. Though the ships of war belonging to the states of Barbary were destroyed, and they

had nothing remaining but chebecs, the tax for the support of the navy of the order was renewed. The expence of this navy greatly exceeded that of the galleys, and amounted annually to a sixth part of the general expenditure of the treasury. The raising the Maltese regiment being acknowledged indispensable, the pay was regulated. Proper methods were likewise taken to maintain the interior discipline of the convent in its original purity. New military ordinances were published concerning the caravans and other parts of the land and sea service. The punishments inflicted by the ancient statutes on keeping mistresses, on gaming, and duelling, were confirmed and augmented. In short, the greatest attention was paid to every circumstance which could by any means contribute to the glory and prosperity of the order ; and it would be almost impossible to mention any of these great assemblies, in which the knights shewed more zeal, or displayed greater talents and skill.

Rohan, whose views equally extended to every part of the administration committed to his care, was convinced there were two objects which particularly demanded the attention of a sovereign, since they contributed more than any thing to render the people virtuous, and submissive to the government under which they lived. The first was public schools, in which youth might be taught respect to the laws ; and the second, a strict observance of equity in the courts of justice, which induces the subject to submit without repining to their awards.

The Jesuits, who had formerly superintended the public education of youth, were suppressed in 1769, when the order seized on their possessions, engaging to pay the annuity which had been granted to each of the fathers, and to fill up the professorships in their college, which they had hitherto maintained. This arrangement was a great drain from the public treasury; nay, it amounted to more than its whole revenue*. Rohan, in order to spare the treasury, and at the same time to improve the education of the Maltese youth, instituted another college, encreased the number of masters, and supported the whole at his own expence. He cultivated the sciences himself with great assiduity, and by his example endeavoured to inspire others with the same taste; he also built an observatory on the tower of the palace, and furnished it with valuable astronomical instruments. Such indeed is the constant serenity of the atmosphere, and so mild the temperature of the air in the island, that observations may be taken in almost all seasons; which, joined to the extensive knowledge of the chevalier d'Angost, who directed the operations, gave every reason to hope for the most interesting discoveries: but, alas! all the chevalier's labour, together with the building itself, were destroyed in one moment by lightning; and various circumstances have ever since prevented its being rebuilt. The grand-master had an extremely well-chosen library in his palace, the access to which was never attended by the smallest difficulty. He likewise employed himself in making alterations

* See the expenditure in the chapter on the Finances.

in the courts of judicature; having for two years suspected that justice was sometimes administered in an arbitrary manner. To remedy, therefore, such abuses, and to put a stop to the numerous appeals, which were both tiresome and ruinous to the pleaders, he established a tribunal, from which there could be no further appeal; and this was termed that of the *supreme magistrate of judicature*. It was to assemble twice a-week, and even every day in cases of urgent necessity: it was to be divided into two *rotas*, and composed of a president and six counsellors. In order that every one might be perfectly acquainted with the particular duties he had to fulfil, the Maltese code was published in 1784, and revised with scrupulous attention by the persons most versed in the laws of their country.

While thus employed in making useful improvements in the interior government of the convent, the chevalier Rohan did not neglect attending to those which might prove advantageous to the order abroad; and, during the whole of this time, he was making great acquisitions in different parts. In France he became possessed of the property of the order of St. Anthony. In Germany the circle of Bavaria created a new language for him; in Poland he was reinstated in some ancient possessions; and in Russia he was presented with new ones. The great importance and worth of these various acquisitions I shall now endeavour to explain.

The order of St. Anthony was founded in 1095, and consisted originally of a pious association, composed of some

gentlemen in Dauphiné. The end proposed in its institution was to relieve those unfortunate persons who were afflicted with a kind of leprosy, distinguished at that time by the name of *St. Anthony's sacred fire*. In 1218 this community was formed into an order of Hospitaller friars, whose chief was a grand-master; and it subsisted in that manner till 1297, when pope Benedict VIII. changed the magisterial priory into an abbey-chief of the order, and determined that in future all the members should be regular canons, subject to the rules of St. Augustin. From that time the order underwent no alteration, till the reform which took place in 1634: in 1768 it was forbidden to receive any more novices, and its members were only allowed the choice of being entirely abolished, of becoming seculars, or of being united to some other order. The latter was preferred, and the order of Malta chosen, as the most analogous; the original basis of both institutions being the exercise of religious hospitality. It was not, however, till after various negotiations, and after having surmounted many difficulties, that the two orders were united. The principal conditions of this agreement were, that the whole of the possessions of St. Anthony should be equally divided between the order of Malta and that of St. Lazarus; the former of which was to engage itself to pay a yearly pension to the Antonin friars, who in future were all to become members of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and to belong to the class of conventual chaplains. The property of St. Anthony was not definitively di-

vided till the year 1781, when the order of St. Lazarus gave up to Malta the portion which had been assigned to it; by which means the latter became sole proprietor of every thing which had formerly belonged to the Antonins.

The conditions of this last division were very advantageous to the order of St. Lazarus, which was thus put in immediate possession of its revenue free from all incumbrance. This was far from the case with the new purchasers, it being calculated that the Maltese treasury would not be entirely reimbursed the sums it had advanced before the year 1879, when the order would enjoy a yearly revenue of 100,000 Maltese crowns*. The knights of Malta entirely neglected their own interest in this transaction, to oblige the king of France, whose next brother (the comte de Provence) had been just named grand-master of the order of St. Lazarus. It was the same motive also which induced them to enter into an engagement to give up the abbey-house of St. Anthony, with the amount of its revenue, to endow the noble chapter of Maltese canonesses, established in the principal residence of the said abbey. The queen of France was particularly interested in the foundation of this chapter.

It was about the same time (1782) that the order made a new acquisition, infinitely more considerable, and of much greater importance. Charles Theodore, elector of Bavaria,

* Value about two shillings each.

having frequently expressed himself most favourably respecting the order, the bailli de Flacksland succeeded in obtaining his consent for the creation of a new language in Bavaria, which was endowed by the possessions formerly belonging to the Jesuits. Such was his adroitness and zeal, that he removed all the obstacles thrown in his way on the occasion; and this language was installed in 1782, under the name of Anglo-Bavarian, and endowed with a revenue of 171,000 florins, which are equal to 151,703 Maltese crowns, or 15,000 pounds sterling. The assessment of responsions was made on this sum.

This new language was composed of the two dignified offices of turcopolier and grand-prior of Bavaria, of twenty commanderies of knights of justice, and of four commanderies of chaplains, or conventual priests. The first taxes, or responsions, were originally laid on the first possessors of benefices, at the rate of two and a half per cent of their neat produce; but it was enacted, that all their successors should pay ten per cent, which would produce, according to the first mutations, a fixed revenue of 15,150 crowns, without counting the *passages*, the *effects of the dead*, the *mortuaries* or *funerals*, and the *vacancies*.

Independently of the above-mentioned acquisitions, the order recovered some of its ancient possessions, which had been very unjustly wrested from it; this restitution gave birth to a new priory, to which Malta owes its present preservation.

A prince of the family of Sanguszko had made an en-

dowment in favour of Malta in Poland, which had been sanctioned by several different diets in the seventeenth century; notwithstanding which, it had been seized upon, to the great detriment of the order. The bailli di Sagramoso, of the Italian language, was therefore appointed minister for the order in Poland; and in 1772 he was empowered to lay claim to the detained possessions. His negotiation was not fruitless; and in 1780 he returned to the convent to announce his success.

This Polish property consisted, in the first place, of two commanderies, which the order had always preserved, though it had ceased to receive the responsions for forty-two years; secondly, of a grand priory; thirdly, of six commanderies situated in the *ordinatie* of Ostrog, paying a yearly sum of 24,000 Polish florins, or nearly 6000 Maltese crowns; fourthly, of eight commanderies of *juspatronat*, otherwise called *patronales*, taxed at 6700 florins: which sums altogether would have made the Polish responsions amount to about 7740 crowns, without reckoning the *passages, effects of the dead, mortuaries, and vacancies*.

Whilst the Christian powers, by these donations, proved how much they were interested in the preservation and aggrandisement of Malta, it is but just to say, that the order, on the other side, gave convincing proof how worthy it was of such favours; for, independently of the frigates sent to the assistance of the emperor, in his war against the Turks, the Maltese squadrons in 1775, 1782, and 1783, likewise accompanied those

of his Catholic majesty. I will not enter into any particulars relative to those three campaigns, which were much more expensive than useful; since they only consisted in bombarding and cannonading some places on the coast of Barbary, the principal of which was Algiers; and plainly proved how very insufficient were the means employed to destroy the retreat of these pirates. It ought, however, to be mentioned, that in 1784 the galleys left Malta on the 6th of May, and returned on the 9th of September, after a campaign of more than four months. It may perhaps appear extraordinary, that though the Maltese galleys had suffered greatly before Algiers, the Spanish fleet having been so much damaged by bad weather as to be forced to retreat into their own ports, the king of Spain should request them still to remain at sea, to defend his coast against the Algerines*. This, however, they did most ably and successfully. It must not be passed over in silence, that Spain had more than a hundred ships of war at that period, and that her naval officers were spirited men, particularly anxious for an opportunity of signalling themselves.

* See Appendix, No. XI. a letter from the Spanish minister of the marine department to the general of the galleys.

C H A P. II.

An Earthquake in Calabria and Sicily; Relief sent thither by the Order. Reception of the Maltese Galleys at Reggio and Messina. Generous Conduct of the Knights; they distribute Provisions among the Poor, and assist the Surgeons in dressing the Wounded. Dreadful Scenes, which presented themselves on every Side. The General and Captains of the Galleys bestow Alms on the distressed Sufferers.

THE Maltese galleys in 1783 were employed upon a very different occasion than the preceding ones, and which I shall describe in a more particular manner. These formidable warriors, who had hitherto attacked the coasts of Barbary, and by fire or sword either consumed or driven the infidels from their habitations, were now become, according to their original institution, charitable hospitallers, who landed on a christian shore to rebuild the shattered dwellings, and restore them to their former possessors.

Intelligence of the dreadful ravages caused by an earthquake in Calabria and Sicily, where Messina and Reggio were entirely destroyed, being received in Malta between six and seven in the evening, orders were immediately given to prepare for sea the galleys, which at that season of the year were already laid up in ordinary. These were fitted out with a degree of diligence and speed, which plainly proved that a much su-

perior motive to that of mere obedience actuated those who were employed on the occasion. During the whole of the night, both master and slave, officer and soldier, worked indiscriminately on board; and the following day they were ready to set sail, provided with every thing which could possibly contribute to the relief of people in such disastrous circumstances. The most able surgeons belonging to the order embarked on board the galleys, taking with them twenty chests filled with medicines, two hundred beds, and a great number of tents. They arrived on the flat shores of Calabria at the close of day, and having cast anchor in an open bay, the general of the galleys dispatched a small boat to make enquiries into the state of affairs. The boat did not return till ten at night, and brought still more deplorable intelligence than what had been already received at Malta. The dreadful consequences of the earthquake extended to more than the distance of sixty miles. Repeated shocks continued to be felt every day, attended by new calamities, and inspiring constant terror. The Calabrians and Sicilians were not only in continual danger of being buried under the ruins of their habitations, but had every reason to apprehend that they should be swallowed up either by sea or by land, both of which presented the most dreadful abysses. Mountains and rivers had entirely disappeared; and the couriers, who were dispatched to Naples, were surprised to find plains in the place of the former, and impassable torrents where there had scarcely been a rivulet.

The unfortunate inhabitants of a small village near Silla, thinking to escape the dangers which threatened them on every side, put to sea; but were presently swallowed up by the raging waves, which, rising mountains high one moment, sank down with equal precipitation the next. These terrible accounts were sufficient to alarm the knights, whose galleys were anchored near the land, in a place which scarcely afforded any shelter. A moment afterwards their ears were struck by cries from the shore, imploring assistance; at the same instant the sea was agitated in the most extraordinary manner, and the galleys experienced a motion entirely novel, but which was occasioned by the shocks felt on land. They immediately removed to as great a distance as possible, without, however, weighing anchor. The rest of the night passed without any farther alarms, and they impatiently waited the dawn of day, in order to disembark the different articles intended for the relief of Reggio*; after which they purposed quitting this perilous coast. The morning at last appeared, and with it the most dreadful spectacle imagination can possibly portray. The heart-rending scene is still imprest on my memory, and I feel myself totally unequal to describe the horrors it presented.

The shore was lined by a great multitude of men, women, and children, half naked, pale, and worn out with fatigue. In

* Reggio, likewise called *D'Olomieu*, stands at the very farthest end of Calabria, in a most delightful situation, surrounded by mountains overgrown with shrubs almost constantly in bloom, which have a charming effect, and which in France are planted in flower-gardens, as very ornamental.

the midst of these miserable objects stood their reverend pastor, who appeared like a tender parent surrounded by his children : such indeed was the respect paid him by his flock, that, notwithstanding their distressed situation, they forbore pressing on the venerable man so dear to their hearts. The general of the galleys having acquainted him with the purpose of his visit, and the assistance he had to offer to the inhabitants of Reggio, this worthy prelate, though he was obliged to provide for the necessities of fifteen thousand persons (two hundred of whom were grievously wounded), was so well persuaded that charity should never be exclusive, that he himself made an exact division of the different articles between his own people and the inhabitants of Messina, forty thousand of whom he knew to be in the greatest distress. He moreover insisted on their being equal partakers of the benevolent assistance offered by the order, and accordingly took only fifty of the beds, four medicine chests, a few tents, and some rice. The knights, having placed these articles in the hands of the venerable prelate, reimbarked amidst the acclamations of the Calabrians, who offered up repeated prayers for their safe arrival at the place of their destination.

They passed the Pharos in a very short time, and cast anchor at an early hour in the port of Messina, where they perceived only a few soldiers, and scarcely any Sicilians on the magnificent quay. Hardly any traces remained of the surrounding splendid edifices. There was a large chasm in

the stone-work of the beautiful citadel; and only a single wall was standing of the cathedral, which appeared to overlook the ruins of the different houses, not one of which remained entire. The neighbouring country, covered with crowds of people, presented the idea of troops of wandering Tartars, who had made choice of that spot for their temporary residence. Such were the objects which struck the astonished sight of the knights before they were allowed to land.

The general of the galleys sent to the Neapolitan commandant, and offered the same assistance already afforded to Reggio; adding, that having heard there were numbers of sick and wounded, he would establish an hospital, which in a very short time would be fit to receive five hundred patients. The Neapolitan returned a polite answer, saying, that the king his master having provided for the most pressing wants of the inhabitants, he must decline accepting his offers till he had written to the viceroy of Sicily, who resided at Palermo *.

From this reply, the knights had every reason to believe their Sicilian majesties had cast a paternal eye on their subjects, and relieved their distresses; they therefore prepared to return, as soon as possible, to the inhabitants of Reggio, with

* See the interesting relation sent to the French minister by M. Lallemande, vice-consul of France at Messina, inserted at full in *La Borde*, vol. IV. part i. page 9, where will be found the following passage: "The relief sent by the sovereign was all given to the garrison, which absorbed it entirely. *The Maltese galleys supplied the wants of the sick and poor for some days, with the most praiseworthy generosity. But the most essential services offered by the commanders were refused; for what reason it is impossible to guess.*"

whose unfortunate situation they were but too well acquainted; and they could not but regret that the prelate had, though from the best of motives, deprived his flock of part of the assistance intended for their relief.

But who can describe the astonishment of the Maltese, when they landed to visit the commandant, and passed round the walls of the city, which no one was permitted to enter without a guard of soldiers, to find themselves surrounded by an immense crowd of the most miserable objects, who eagerly caught at the smallest alms bestowed on them! This affecting spectacle induced the knights to make all possible haste to acquit themselves of a duty imposed on them by mere politeness, in order to return the sooner to the performance of one infinitely more important, and which they plainly foresaw would be required of them. They were received in an extremely large barrack built of wood, divided into different apartments, richly furnished, and were presented with refreshments of the most delicate kind: their ears were likewise regaled with military music; plenty appeared to reign throughout every part of the dwelling, and all the surrounding objects seemed calculated to inspire pleasure. The commandant put an end to the audience, by advising the general of the galleys, who had communicated to him his intentions, to return to Reggio, there to await the answer to the dispatches sent to Palermo.

Nothing could possibly be more striking than the contrast between this kind of palace and the miserable habitations

which surrounded it. The unfortunate people of Messina had constructed, at certain distances, different hovels, which were too hastily put together to admit of any choice either of situation or materials. A tolerable tent was sometimes pitched near a wooden barrack : but much more frequently a mere piece of cloth, spread on the ground, served to cover a whole family, who had crept under it for shelter, and there dug themselves a retreat, which but too often, serving a double purpose, furnished them a grave. The partitions which separated these deplorable dwellings, were much too thin to shut out the dismal shrieks of the wounded and dying from the compassionate ears of the knights, who were not insensible to their misfortunes, and who vainly endeavoured to find out a minister who, like the worthy prelate at Reggio, would properly distribute the means of relief. I will not attempt to describe *all* the affecting scenes which presented themselves to the knights who visited these dismal habitations. The surgeons were permitted to dress the wounds of some miserable beings who were at a distance from the rest ; and the commandant could not prevent alms being privately bestowed on several of these unfortunate objects. My post on board the galleys frequently obliged me to accompany the surgeons, in order to inspect the application of different remedies, and the distribution of the necessities sent for their relief. This gave me an opportunity of witnessing scenes which I *scarcely* dare present to the reader.

Here, lay extended a miserable mother covered with

wounds, the hapless remnant of her famished children vainly striving for sustenance from a breast which, dreadful to think of! would yield none untinged with blood.

There, the wretched father; deprived of his children's aid; motionless from his wounds, in which the noxious vapours from the earth on which he lay had generated fungous substances which no kind hand had been stretched forth to remove.

Onward, the heart-breaking sight of children, half-buried in ruins, whom the imperious want of animal food had constrained to attack themselves, inflicting with their teeth wounds which threatened a more painful and more lingering death than that from which they had escaped.

Those whose duty obliged them to visit the dwellings of the unfortunate inhabitants, were still more painfully affected by the profound silence which reigned throughout some, than the deep groans which issued from others; knowing the probability of its cause—that death had already precluded all human aid.

Provisions, as has been already mentioned, were at first privately distributed among the sufferers: but this assistance could not be long concealed; and so great was the multitude of people who continually presented themselves to partake of it, that it was absolutely necessary to decide on some plan to prevent so great an inconvenience. The galleys near the quays were constantly assailed by crowds who braved the strictest prohibitions against approaching them. These

disorders were, however, at last prevented ; and permission obtained to distribute soup, meat, rice, and bread, freely and indiscriminately to all who should present themselves at a fixed place and hour. The knights were always present on this occasion, and distributed the provisions with their own hands. This employment was, however, attended with some difficulties, and many unpleasant circumstances, which the cruel situation of the sufferers could alone induce them to support.

Let the reader figure to himself twelve or fifteen hundred persons pressed by famine, crowding impetuously close to immense cauldrons and large baskets, the contents of which thirty or forty knights were endeavouring to divide in the most impartial manner ; and he will not be surprised that they were frequently obliged to make use of force to drive back the most importunate, whose avidity it was otherwise impossible to check.

During three weeks that the knights remained in the port of Messina, they were constantly employed in the above-mentioned occupations ; and when the general of the galleys had resolved to return, he was so fearful of occasioning any tumult among a people whose necessities had for some time been daily relieved by the order, that he took the greatest pains to conceal the day of his departure. He just touched at Reggio, where he left the different articles the commandant of Messina did not condescend to accept. To these he added a large sum of money from his own private property. He had acted with equal generosity at Messina, and indeed in every place

where he heard of any miserable objects, throughout the whole of that desolated coast. I know not whether I ought thus to divulge the secret benevolent actions of a friend, of whose destiny I am now, alas ! totally ignorant ; but as I think it necessary to mention that every one of the captains of the galleys distinguished themselves by their charity, I surely ought not to pass over in silence the glorious example given them by their illustrious chief*.

Catania and Syracuse, which had fortunately escaped the havock made by this dreadful earthquake in Sicily, were soon, if possible, in a still more deplorable situation ; being in total want of corn, not only in the above-mentioned towns, but in the surrounding country. Thus exposed to all the horrors of famine, they had not much reason to expect speedy relief from Malta ; the fleet of which had been much damaged by the late long campaigns near Algiers, and on the coast of Spain, where it had remained after the Spanish vessels had retired into their own ports. The treasury was likewise much exhausted by the enormous expences of this expedition ; yet, notwithstanding all these circumstances, no sooner was their distressed situation known at Malta, than the grand-master sent off a large vessel laden with corn, and several boats with biscuits, to supply as soon as possible the immediate wants of these wretched people.

• * The bailli de Frélon de la Frélonniere, of an ancient family in Brittany.

CHAP. III.

Decrees of the Assemblies in France against the Order of Malta. Account of the Manner in which that Order managed its Possessions, one Third of which was paid to Government during M. Neckar's Administration. Five Hundred Thousand French Livres sent to Lewis XVI. on his Flight to Varennes. Services rendered to the French Trade. A Petition from the commercial Companies at Marseilles and Lyons sent to the National Assembly in Favour of the Order, which is destroyed, and all its Members cruelly persecuted. A Justification of this Injustice published, and Henry IV. represented as a more tyrannical Monster than Charles IX. Encomiums on the Conduct of Persons who were concerned for the Interests of the Order. The Grand-Master's Manifesto. He preserves a perfect Neutrality.

THE order was in a state of the greatest prosperity, and was continually achieving actions which merited a still farther encrease of glory; when it received a mortal blow, and that, alas! from the same hand which had contrived, not only to overturn a throne established for fourteen centuries, but at the same time entirely to annihilate a body which had constantly been its principal support.

The new legislators of France appeared for a moment to respect the property of Malta: but it was too valuable, and the order of men to whom it belonged too hateful, to escape or any length of time the gripe of the oppressors; who felt a

pleasure, and indeed thought it a duty, to possess themselves of it.

The original hospitallers were Frenchmen, and the first knights were likewise of the same nation ; consequently theirs were the first languages in the order, and three out of the eight were of that country. If the reader reflects for a moment on the manner in which they managed their possessions in France, and the use they made of their revenues, he will plainly perceive, that they constantly merited the protection of a nation on which they had the double claim of proprietors of land and benefactors.

Nothing could possibly be neater, nor kept in nicer order, than their estates and farms ; and houses had been built in most of the commanderies, which not only contributed to embellish the country, but were of the greatest utility. The neatest and most convenient farms were erected close to the most sumptuous edifices, and commissions annually appointed by the chapter of the priories to prevent any of these useful buildings being neglected : they were, indeed, of the greatest consequence to agriculture, and very necessary for preserving the fruit of the farmer's labour.

The laws and regulations of the order were greatly calculated to favour a good administration of its property ; since they particularly provided, that those commanders who had improved their commanderies, should be preferably eligible

to more valuable ones. It may then very justly be said, that scarcely any land in France itself was better cultivated than the estates of the order: they were indeed, in many parts, complete models of rural economy; neither the idle nor poor appeared in the neighbourhood, the greatest attention being given to employ the former and relieve the latter. The riches and industry which Malta diffused throughout France ought to have recommended it to the good offices of that country; on which it had still another claim, that of employing its revenues, in all emergencies, for the advantage of those from whom it held its estates. The order, indeed, never forgot that it ought always to contribute as much as possible to the interior and exterior prosperity of the French nation. When M. Neckar demanded, by way of voluntary contribution, the third part of the revenue of every proprietor in France, the receiver for that language in Paris immediately gave in his recognisance, and made the first payments: and when an unhappy monarch, left without resource, with no one to whom he could possibly confide his total want of money, and still less the circumstance for which he required it, addressed himself to the order to request it to employ that credit in his favour which itself had almost entirely lost; it instantly sent bills to the amount of five hundred thousand French livres, the very sum specified by Lewis XVI. The unfortunate event of the flight to Varennes is but too well known; and the order had no other consolation left,

than having employed its last farthing for the relief of suffering virtue*. It had, however, on another occasion, the pride and satisfaction of seeing its last military armaments come to the assistance of the very country which deprived it of the means of continuing them. For at the moment when France deliberated on the utility of Malta, and when the order was perfectly convinced that the legislators had resolved to seize on its possessions, the Maltese galleys on the coast of Provence retook two Marseilles merchantmen which had been captured by the Tunisian corsairs. The only motive for this gallant action was the pleasure of having performed it, for they instantly restored the vessels to their owners, and refused to accept any reward. This noble and disinterested conduct, which sufficiently proved the great importance of the Maltese navy to the French trade, induced the commercial companies at Lyons and Marseilles to unite their efforts, and to apply to the national assembly in favour of the order: but all in vain; the nature of the intended revolution being such as must necessarily draw on its ruin. I once had an idea of retracing successively, and placing in proper order, the different decrees in which mention is made of Malta; but I soon perceived that such an account would carry me too far, and would require a volume of itself. I also thought, that a recital of a succession of laws, in the greatest part of which the order was only accidentally named, would

* The order formerly contributed towards the ransom of St. Louis when taken prisoner by the infidels, and to that of Francis I. when in the hands of the Spaniards.

be both tedious and uninteresting; I shall therefore merely confine myself to making my reader acquainted with the result of these different decrees.

To avoid recurring to a subject so truly painful, I shall here sum up the whole of the laws which deprived the order of its privileges and property; and which in the end drove the knights of Malta from a country where they had no alternative left but the blackest despair or the greatest dishonour, and where they must inevitably have perished from want, or on a scaffold.

In the first assembly, the order of St. John of Jerusalem was only regarded as a foreign sovereign possessing property in France, and as such was subjected to all the taxes imposed on that kingdom.

These first acts still preserved some appearance of justice; since they proved not only the sovereignty of the order, but its right of proprietor in the country. These were, however, soon destroyed; and the legislative assembly enacted that every Frenchman who was a member of an order of knighthood which required proofs of nobility, should no longer be regarded as a French citizen. This act was followed by the decree of the 19th of September, 1792; when, after several debates, which took place more as a matter of form than to discuss the grounds of the question, it was determined that the order of Malta should be entirely annulled, and all its property annexed to the demesnes of France. It is an extraordinary circumstance,

though, alas ! but too true, that the ancient advocates in favour of the order, and who till that moment had pleaded its cause in the most disinterested manner, became on this occasion the most violent of its persecutors.

This decree being passed, mention was made of indemnifications, and of bestowing an annual stipend on the knights: but there being no real intention of so doing, the most solemn promises were soon forgotten, and a most effectual method taken to annul them completely ; it being required that every one enjoying a pension should reside in the French territories, where all who had the smallest pretensions to nobility were cruelly persecuted, their houses burned, and the proprietors massacred together with every part of their families.

No sooner had the edict passed which deprived the order of its possessions, than all the estates were seized on and ravaged, the houses of the commanders ransacked and plundered, and themselves persecuted. The revolutionary fury did not stop there ; the knights were pursued like wild beasts, and many of them thrown into the dungeons entitled *of Public Safety*, where they remained with the axe of the executioner constantly suspended over their heads.

It was after these dreadful horrors, which for some years disgraced France and rendered that country a scene of blood and infamy, that the same nation, more tranquil though equally unjust, determined to declare that those who had fled from such dreadful calamities were the enemies of their country ;

and that they ought to be condemned to a civil death, since it was impossible to become master of their persons. The constitutional assembly, in the decree of the third of Brumaire, proposed including in the proscription against the emigrants, the very knights who had retired to Malta; where, conformably to the original decree, they were to have been allowed a pension—a commissary had even been appointed at Marseilles to transmit it to them.

The striking injustice of this decree induced the government which at that time tyrannised over France, to endeavour to justify its conduct, and also that of the assembly. Men were found who had the weakness to enter into such views; and one in particular, whose talents, and the manner in which he had employed them, had ever been the subject of admiration, did not scruple to prostitute them on this occasion to the directory, whose cause he condescended to plead; and in a curious work which he published, and to which he did not even blush to sign his name, he endeavoured to prove, that a military, hospitaller, and sovereign order, was exactly the same as either the Brothers of the Trinity, or the Capuchins—that there was no difference between the orders which begged their bread from house to house throughout Lyons, Marseilles, and other commercial places, and one which ranged the seas at the risk of both liberty and life to protect trade, and to ensure the export and import of the produce of industry, and the necessities of existence—that the noble ecclesiastical body of

Lyons and Brioud ought to be considered in the same point of view by the maritime towns in France, as the noble order of Malta, which had ports constantly open for their shipping, dock-yards to repair them, and hospitals where the crews were received and attended gratis—that the revolutionary intestine war was that of *good* against *evil*; in which every honest man was called upon to join, on pain of treason against the nation—that the law ought to have a retroactive effect on those who had been allowed to chuse whether they would remain knights or become French citizens, and who in the former quality had quitted France with passports on which was specified the motive of their emigration—that the government which had decreed indemnifications, was at liberty to break its promise; and that those whom it had solemnly engaged to maintain, but whom it had abandoned to their fate, ought rather to have starved in France than to have sought safety and an honourable subsistence in another country—that *passing over to the order of the day* when there was question of a law the existence of which had been sought for in vain, was a much stronger sanction than what had been given to one which had been passed with every form requisite for its full and entire execution—that the celebrated author Vertot, so justly esteemed one of our best historians, had composed, in his History of Malta, *one of the most despicable works possible, in the opinion of a philosopher; and that not only from the subject, but from the manner in which it was treated*—lastly (though

entirely foreign to the question), he is hurried on so violently by the *rage* of eccentric demonstrations, as to endeavour to prove that Henry IV., who conquered the throne of his forefathers as much by clemency and moderation as by force of arms, was a still more odious tyrant than Charles IX., who supported himself in it by persecution, and the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew *.

This extraordinary production met with the greatest success, and was particularly approved by the directory. The minister of justice complimented the author on the occasion; and in his congratulatory letter made a confession of faith in regard to emigrants, which may very fairly be interpreted as follows—that a native of Pennsylvania having bought an estate in France ought to be looked upon as an emigrant, if, during the horrors of from 1789 to 1793, he quitted that country to return to his original habitation, were it even become the prey of savages almost as dangerous as the furious monsters from which he had escaped; and if the same monsters should ever accidentally make war in America, and attack the dwellings of his parents or his own, and he should be taken prisoner whilst defending his property, he should immediately be shot as a French

* The author's words are these: "The difference between Charles IX. and Henry IV. is but trifling; and consists in the former's having massacred his people being a king, and the latter in order to become one. Charles wished to force his subjects to turn catholics; and Henry would have been happy to have had them all huguenots. They were both barbarous and sacrilegious from motives of self-interest; but the crimes of Charles IX. were caused in some degree by his mother and uncles, whilst those of Henry IV. were all his own."

emigrant. Such were at that time the barbarous principles of the French legislature: and they still remained in force in 1800; when the knights who were attached to the directory and to the government which succeeded it, made just complaints of being sacrificed to them*.

During this terrible state of anarchy and confusion, the order was nobly defended by knights whose names ought not to be buried in oblivion. The bailiff de la Brilhane, the Maltese ambassador at the court of France, was a man of high spirit and generous sentiments, who constantly protected the order in the most intrepid manner. When M. de Montmorin gave him notice that his life was in danger, he immediately answered: "I am under no apprehensions; for the moment is now arrived, when a man of honour who faithfully performs his duty may die as gloriously on a gallows as in the field of battle."—A dreadful truth, which, alas! has since been but too evidently verified!

This noble-minded man expired suddenly soon afterwards, on quitting M. de Montmorin's apartment, with whom he had had a private conference; and the order has never since sent an ambassador to France.—The commander de l'Estourmelle was named chargé-d'affaires, under the direction of the bailiff de Virieu, minister from the Infant duke of Parma: and these two knights, whose conduct merited universal esteem, remain-

* See Rausijat.

ed firm in their respective posts to the last moment; they, indeed, displayed a constancy and courage worthy of happier times. All respect for the sacred character of the minister from an ally was thrown aside; and Estourmelle's house was forced, his papers seized, his chests pillaged, and his life threatened. The bailiff de Virieu, who was likewise a minister from an allied power, escaped with difficulty from a multitude of armed men by whom he was surrounded. These reiterated insults were followed by another, which sensibly affected the order. The Temple, the principal place of residence for the knights at Paris, and which had been erected to serve as a peaceful retreat for the honourable and the virtuous, was now become their prison, by being appointed the place of confinement for the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family.

Notwithstanding all these persecutions, Malta preserved a perfect neutrality. It never declared war; and the grand-master only protested in common with other sovereigns against the horrid cruelties which at that time dishonoured France. Sixty French vessels richly laden, remained during almost the whole of the winter of 1793 in the port of Malta. The grand-master was advised to seize upon them; but he only answered, "that the order was instituted to suffer injustice, not to revenge it."

When the English and Spanish fleets were triumphant in the Mediterranean, and the allied army gloriously successful on the continent, the order never took any advantage of these

conquests, constantly bearing in mind, that the knights of Malta ought not to draw their swords against a Christian power, and their ports were open to all. The English and Spaniards were indeed allowed to recruit sailors in Malta; and this permission, which had been more advantageous to France than to any other country in the preceding wars, and even surreptitiously in the beginning of the present one, drew upon the order the most violent reproaches from the directory, which treasured it in its memory as a pretence for going to war when time and opportunity served.

The conduct of the order of Malta on this occasion, as indeed on every other, was perfectly irreproachable, and wants no explanation. Was it reprehensible for allowing its allies to employ sailors whom it had no longer means to support? or ought it to have abandoned them entirely, and suffered them to starve sooner than increase their attachment to the order, by placing them well, and making them happy?

Such a manner of acting was never thought hostile; for had it been so, England might on many occasions, and particularly in the beginning of the American dispute, have declared war against Malta for having furnished the Toulon squadron with eighteen hundred sailors. France did not make war upon Hesse for sending soldiers to England; and the emperor never regarded the Swiss as enemies because they had a large body of troops in the French service, which frequently

fought against him! I do not therefore scruple to assert, that the conduct of the grand-master was not only irreproachable with respect to his permitting his subjects to enlist in another service when he had no longer power to maintain them in his ; but I even say he was rather too scrupulous, for he would have acted a much more prudent part had he requested his allies to furnish him with a garrison to support his independence ; and by so doing he would have saved the order and his successor from reproach and insult, and his people from crimes and misfortunes.

Though the order permitted its subjects to enlist under different colours, it never hoisted its own, nor ever employed the knights to fight against France. Many negotiations were commenced on this subject, but the grand-master constantly continued firm in his system of neutrality : he even went farther, and never entirely broke through his political relations with the French ; a minister from that nation always remaining in Malta, though he was not permitted to send one to Paris. The knights proposed for that embassy were certainly unobjectionable, the first being the commander d'Alonville, who had never quitted France, and the second a Spanish knight acknowledged by his court. The king of Spain, who at that time was attached to the French government, made every possible effort in his favour, but all in vain ; till at last, in 1797, a blank paper, signed by the grand-master, was sent to Mr.

Cibon, a man of great probity, and well known for his attachment to the interests of Malta. His orders were, not to employ it as a sanction for being appointed *chargé d'affaires* without the positive decision of the bailiff de St. Simon, who had always remained in France.

CHAP. IV.

The Grand-Master's paternal Reception of the Knights, who retire to Malta. His noble Reply to an Officer of his Household on the Occasion. The Grand Priory of Russia created by the Emperor Paul; it is united to the Anglo-Bavarian Language. The Russian Courier stopped by the French, and his Dispatches made public. The Death of Rohan. Homspach elected Grand-Master. A Plan formed to name the Prince of Peace to the Grand-Mastership. The Order sends an Ambassador to St. Petersburg; his Reception. Paul named Protector of the Order. The Emperor and the whole Imperial Family invested with the Grand Cross of Malta. The Congress of Rastadt. The Order persecuted by the Directory. A Proposal made to incorporate it with the Teutonic Order.

SO general a proscription against the nobles, and the violence with which they were persecuted on every side, forced the knights of Malta to fly for refuge to different parts of the world. Those whose age and infirmities required a peaceful retreat, returned to the convent; whilst others flocked to the different standards, among which the ancient *Oriflamme* of France still shone conspicuous. But the reverse of fortune experienced by the allied powers obliged them at last to repair to their own island, where they rallied their forces to defend their order, the only power to which they could be longer useful.

The grand-master's reception of the numerous knights who retired to Malta was perfectly consonant to the high

opinion which had been formed of his noble and generous disposition. Like a second L'Isle Adam, he received his children with all the tenderness of a good parent; and was so prodigal of his favours, that it might justly be said, he consulted the goodness of his heart infinitely more than the contents of his purse.

When an officer of his household took the liberty of representing to him, that, if he did not in some degree restrain his generosity, there would be nothing left to support the dignity of his court; he replied, with that simplicity which so particularly distinguished his character, "Take care to reserve one crown * daily for the expences of my table, and let all the rest be distributed among my distressed brothers."

Among the various misfortunes which continually befel the order, one glimpse of hope, however, still remained. The grand priory of Poland, formed by Rohan, has been already mentioned, together with the methods he employed for the restoration of the livings belonging to the order, unjustly seized on by that country. These being situated in the *ordinatio* of Ostrog in Vollhynia, passed under the government of Russia on the general dismemberment of Poland. The order was too well aware of the risk they ran of remaining constantly in the hand of so powerful a nation not to make known its just pretensions as soon as possible.

Catherine II. was at that time on the throne, and the

* Two shillings.

bailiff de Litta presented her his credential letters, as minister plenipotentiary from the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem to her court. He was admitted the same day to an audience with all the princes and princesses of the Imperial family. But in the midst of a negotiation which most probably would have been long protracted, the empress ended her glorious reign, dying suddenly, and Paul I. succeeded to the throne.

The new emperor had ever been a passionate admirer of every thing resembling chivalry, and had always an extraordinary pleasure in reading the exploits performed by the knights of Malta. He had, indeed, conceived a very great affection for this illustrious body of men, and for the great actions which so particularly distinguished them: he, therefore, eagerly embraced this opportunity of gratifying his inclinations.

By the treaty of 1775, the order had obtained an annual revenue in Poland of a hundred and twenty thousand florins of that country, which Paul encreased to three hundred thousand, to be paid by the treasurer of the empire. This was more than doubling the income of the establishment, on which the emperor bestowed the title of Grand Priory of Russia, and made it consist of one grand priory, with ten commanderies for the knights, and three for the conventual chaplains. He also permitted the *juspatronal* commanderies, which were now under his government, to be preserved; and allowed his catholic

subjects to found others, on the same principles as those established in Poland.

On the 15th of January, 1797, count Bosbaroko, chancellor of the empire, with prince Alexander Kourakin, vice-chancellor, on the part of the emperor, and the bailiff de Litta on that of the grand-master, signed an agreement, containing on one side thirty-seven articles, and on the other four separate ones, with eight additional ones. The first eight related to the sub-divisions of the three hundred thousand florins * granted as a fixed revenue for the grand priory of Russia, and this was to be arranged as follows: eighty thousand for the grand priory; thirty thousand for the first and second commanderies; twenty thousand for the third and fourth; fifteen thousand for each of the last six; and six thousand each for the chaplains' three commanderies. The responsions were likewise fixed: the grand-prior to pay twelve thousand florins; the first and second commanderies, six thousand; the third and fourth, four thousand; the last six, fifteen hundred †; and the conventual chaplains a thousand each. Twenty thousand florins were also allowed for the expences of the legation; twelve thousand for the support of the chapel and archives; and the eighteen thousand florins still remaining of the three hundred thousand were intended as an annual supply for any

* A Polish florin is estimated at the fourth part of a Maltese crown, or about sixpence English.

† In a separate article, it was agreed that these commanderies were to pay three thousand, instead of fifteen hundred florins.

expences which might occur at Malta relative to the grand priory of Russia.

The emperor decided that the order should receive three hundred thousand florins from the 1st of January, 1797, and likewise the first four months of 1798, and this by way of indemnification for the expences of the first establishment; but the commanderies were not to enter into the enjoyment of their revenues till the 1st of May, 1798.

The commanderies could not be disposed of in favour of any Russian who was incapable of being received into the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and all the regulations and statutes relative to the mortuaries, vacancies, responsions, &c. were established in the same manner as at Malta.

The new priory of Russia was incorporated into the ancient language of England, since called the Anglo-Bavarian; and the grand-master, as a mark of gratitude for the good offices rendered him by his Imperial majesty's two ministers, bestowed on them both the grand cross of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The emperor expressed a wish not only to wear it himself, but that all the princes of the Imperial family should be invested with the same mark of distinction.

The importance of these different particulars, the security of the papers relative to articles agreed upon for the creation of the grand priory of Russia, together with the wish to receive as soon as possible the necessary ratifications from the grand-master and council, induced the bailiff de Litta to dispatch an

extraordinary courier to Malta, who arrived in Italy at the moment when the French invaded that delightful country. He had embarked at Trieste, in order to avoid meeting the army ; and on landing at Ancona, he was much surprised at finding Bonaparte, and still more astonished at being apprehended, and his papers seized ;—a most extraordinary proceeding against a person who came from a court at peace with the French republic, and who was going to a sovereign equally so. The directory appeared to glory in this opportunity of publishing the contents of the dispatches ; and the unfortunate courier, being stripped of every thing he possessed, was permitted to continue his journey.

It was by means of this extraordinary publication of the papers seized in Italy that the intelligence reached Malta of the happy issue of the negotiation with Russia, for the second courier arrived just before Röhan breathed his last. Thus was this excellent prince in his last moments deprived of the grateful consolation of knowing that his efforts in favour of the order were crowned with success ; he had, however, the satisfaction, which every generous mind must feel, of having relieved the distresses of his persecuted brethren.

Hompesch succeeded to the sovereignty, and was the first grand-master ever chosen from the German language. This circumstance did not proceed from any want of merit in the knights of that country, which at all times had furnished the most estimable characters, and perfectly worthy of command-

ing the order : but few of the knights resided in Malta, and they almost all preferred living peaceably in their own commanderies; having constantly in view the sovereign principality of Hettersheim, which was annexed to the grand priory of Germany.

The new grand-master, Hompesch, was descended from an illustrious family in the empire. He had the title of bailiff of Brandeburgh before his election, and was minister from the imperial court of Vienna at Malta. Rohan, whose modesty equalled his sagacity, from a diffidence in his own abilities, had formed a congregation of state, from the very beginning of the French troubles. This assembly was to take into consideration the proper means of preserving the government, and to form necessary resolutions, according to the exigency of the times and the delicacy of circumstances. Those knights who were most distinguished for prudence and enlightened understandings were chosen on this occasion. The bailiff de Hompesch was one of the number, and he had ever been remarked as a declared enemy to every species of innovation, and as a zealous defender of the order; his quality indeed of minister from the emperor and king, confirmed the opinion formed of his sentiments. These considerations induced the order to make choice of him to mount a throne, which was no longer easy to maintain. He himself was not ambitious of this distinction; but having once obtained it, the greatest reproach to his memory will most probably be, that he had not suffi-

cient firmness to preserve it. He certainly at that time had no hopes of being elected to the grand-mastership; he was not even arrived at an age to aspire to such a dignity, and it was a conventual chaplain who pressed him to become a candidate. It was not, however, till after repeated solicitations that he consented; and he then authorised the chaplain to make the arrangements, and defray the necessary expences on the occasion. Hompesch therefore did not succeed to the mastership without entering into troublesome engagements, and contracting considerable debts.

It must be universally allowed, that, situated as things were at that moment, nothing would have been more impolitic than to have elected a grand-master from any of the French languages; since it would have exposed the order to the redoubled hatred of the French government, the violence of which against every one of that nation who had preferred remaining noble to being acknowledged a French citizen, was but too well known. There was even a report, which was declared to be a true one, that Bonaparte had formed a plan to raise a Spaniard to the grand-mastership, and that he had made choice of a person called the *prince of peace*, an honorary bailiff in the order. This plan might probably have succeeded, had the prince of Rohan, whose health had long been in a precarious state, died a little sooner; but when the intelligence of the event reached Madrid, the *prince of peace* had contracted a marriage with a princess of the royal family of Spain, and this

grand alliance satisfying his most ambitious views, made him relinquish all idea of the grand-mastership of St. John of Jerusalem.

The first council assembled after the election of Hompesch deliberated on the dispatches from Russia, and the convention already mentioned between the emperor and Malta. These were read with the most enthusiastic pleasure, and unanimously ratified.—In order to give a public testimony of deference on this occasion, and a proper degree of solemnity to so memorable an event, the council determined to send an extraordinary embassy to St. Petersburg. In consequence of which the bailiff de Litta, who as minister-plenipotentiary had already signed the convention of the 4-15th of January, was on the 7th of August (new style), 1797, named ambassador-extraordinary from his most eminent highness the grand-master of the sovereign order of Malta to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

The ratification of the council and grand-master, together with the credentials, were carried to St. Petersburg by the chevalier Raczynski. The bailliff de Litta was received on this occasion with all the honours usually paid to ambassadors from crowned heads, and which, indeed, the order of Malta was ever accustomed to receive from every court. He made his public entry into St. Petersburg on the 27th of November, 1797, accompanied by an imperial commissary, and the grand-master of the ceremonies of the court, whom the

emperor had sent to meet him. He was there informed, that he was to have his public audience on the Sunday following, the 29th of November; when he was conducted to the castle, with the same retinue which attended him on his entry, and received with all the usual forms.

His Imperial majesty, in full uniform, was standing under a canopy; the crown, globe, and sceptre, placed on a table to the right, covered with purple velvet laced with gold; the grand-chancellor and vice-chancellor of the empire stood at the foot of the throne, and at a distance the dignified clergy and the synod. The five first classes of the empire assisted at this audience.

The Maltese ambassador then advanced, accompanied by the imperial commissary and the grand-master of the ceremonies; he was followed by the secretary of the embassy with the credential letters, and by three knights, who likewise made part of the embassy, and who carried three cushions of cloth of gold, on which were placed the ancient crosses brought from Rhodes to Malta, the coat of mail intended for his imperial majesty, an ancient cross hung to the Madonna of Palermo, which was thought to belong to the celebrated La Valette, with other crosses for the empress, the princes and princesses of the imperial family.

The ambassador, having made the three usual reverences, advanced to the foot of the throne, and pronounced the following harangue:

“ Sire,

“ THE sovereign order of Malta, eager to acknowledge its debt of gratitude, and to perform a duty, not only sacred, but dear to the hearts of every one of its members, thus offers up its thanks at the foot of your throne. Your majesty's benefactions are such as must ever remain deeply engraven on our memory.

“ The new establishment, which the munificence of your Imperial majesty has secured to the order of Malta, in the empire of Russia, has been sanctioned in that island with the most lively enthusiasm, and with every sentiment of joy and gratitude. To give a still greater solemnity to our acknowledgments, and to express our homage still more forcibly, his eminent highness, my lord the grand-master, together with the supreme council, have unanimously decreed an extraordinary embassy on the occasion.

“ Being chosen by my order for this august mission, it is in quality of ambassador-extraordinary that I am charged to acquaint your Imperial majesty with the universal wish of the whole order that you would deign to become chief of this establishment, and accept a title so dear and so encouraging to us all; a title, indeed, which you, Sire, by your generous sentiments, and the favours bestowed upon us, have already so justly acquired, that of *Protector of the order of Malta*: and as such, we trust we shall see your Imperial majesty invested with the ensigns of an order, equally ancient and illustrious,

ever renowned for its exploits, and venerable from the sanctity of its institutions.

“ His most eminent highness and the supreme council have, therefore, sent your Imperial majesty the ancient cross of the celebrated La Valette, that invincible defender of our island, who bequeathed his name to a city, which he alone had rendered impregnable. This cross has hitherto been religiously preserved in the treasury of our cathedral church, as a precious monument, which constantly recalled to our remembrance the glorious military exploits performed by a grand-master of Malta, who might properly be termed the hero of Christianity; and we now feel a pleasure in offering it to your Imperial majesty, as a proof of our gratitude, as a mark worthy of his piety, and as a happy presage of the renewal of our prosperity.

“ This offer is accompanied by our most ardent vows for the glory of your Imperial majesty, and the happiness of your empire. This august and revered ensign of our order, together with the recollection of our ancestors, and the proofs of valour given by the knights of Malta, will, we doubt not, excite in the bosoms of the illustrious, brave, and faithful nobles of your majesty's empire, an enthusiasm and a spirit of emulation worthy the most glorious ages of chivalry; and the solemnity of this memorable day will constantly recall to posterity the remembrance of the munificence of Paul the First, and the gratitude of the order of Malta.”

The ambassador having finished his oration, presented his credentials, which his Imperial majesty committed into the hands of the grand-chancellor; commanding him, at the same time, to make an answer in his name. This was done by his highness the prince Berborodka, in the Russian language: and the emperor having accepted the title of protector of the order, together with the cross of La Valette, the ambassador resumed his discourse in the following manner:

“ Sire,

“ What a glorious moment for us! when your Imperial majesty, by thus seconding our wishes, reflects a fresh lustre on the order of Malta! Let us, then, whilst we congratulate ourselves on so great a happiness, express our lively thanks, for this joyful event, to your Imperial majesty. With what sentiments of pleasure will ever be remembered in the annals of our history an epoch which restores our hopes, and for ever ensures the happiness, prosperity, and glory, of our order!

“ Condescend, Sire, to add to the many favours already bestowed, that of investing your august spouse, her majesty the empress, with the ensigns of our order. We presume to offer her this testimony of our profound respect—the due homage of valour to virtue. We also entreat, Sire, that you would please to invest the princes of your august Imperial family with the same ensigns; and this favour we shall regard as the first bestowed by your Imperial majesty on the order, in quality of protector.”

The ambassador then took the coat of mail, and approaching his majesty, the emperor put this religious and war-like vestment over his clothes, and the grand-master of the wardrobe fitted it on him; he next presented him the cross of La Valette, which his Imperial majesty placed himself on his bosom, putting round his neck the antique gold chain to which it was suspended.

The audience being over, the ambassador was conducted to the empress, in the same form and with the same retinue.

Her Imperial majesty was seated on her throne, surrounded by her ladies of honour; the grand-master of the court, count Romanzow, standing at her feet.

The ambassador, having delivered his harangue, presented his credentials to the empress, who commanded the grand-master of the court to make an answer in her name.

The Maltese ambassador had afterwards separate audiences of the heir apparent, the grand-duke, and of their highnesses the princesses of the imperial family; after which he returned into the presence-chamber, where the emperor, with the coat of mail and the cross of La Valette, was seated on the throne.

Her Imperial majesty, having received notice from the grand-master of the ceremonies, appeared, followed by her whole court, and, approaching the throne, was presented by the emperor with the grand-cross of the order of Malta; after which the empress took her usual place on the throne.

The grand-duke next advanced without a sword, followed by one of his aides-de-camp. His highness put one knee to the ground before the emperor, who, putting on his hat, drew his sword, and, striking three several times the right and left shoulder of the candidate, took the sword from the aide-de-camp, and presented it to the grand-duke; after which the emperor gave him the accustomed embrace, and invested him with the distinctive marks of the grand-cross of the order of Malta. The rest of the imperial family underwent the same ceremony.

The emperor, being desirous of conferring the same honour on a prince of the blood royal of France, who had proved himself the worthy successor of a hero whom posterity has ever distinguished by the title of *great*, and on whose name he reflects new lustre, immediately invested his serene highness the prince of Condé with the grand-cross of the order, and made him grand-prior of Russia.

The bailiff de Litta preserved the title of ambassador till the 25th April, 1798, when he resumed that of envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary from the sovereign order of Malta residing at the court of Russia.

Notwithstanding all these events, the order never lost sight of the critical situation of the island, the threatened attack of the French, the want of money in the treasury, and the means of obtaining foreign assistance; in order to procure which, the grand-master, in the beginning of the year 1798, transmitted a memorial, which was presented by the Maltese minister, en-

treating the Russian court to support the order with its interest throughout the rest of Europe. The emperor, by way of answer to this request, sent orders to his envoys in the different courts to render every possible good office to all agents, either direct or indirect, belonging to Malta. He even carried his attention so far as to declare, that he should look upon every favour bestowed on the order by the different courts as a mark of deference and respect to himself. This was undoubtedly fulfilling, in a most efficacious manner, his engagement as protector of the order; and the good effects of so powerful an intervention were very sensibly felt.

The congress of Rastadt was opened towards the end of 1797; and the French government, as declared enemy of all persons or bodies of men who had the smallest pretensions to nobility, never ceased persecuting the order of Malta, whenever and wherever it had an opportunity of so doing. The knights were constantly proscribed and stripped of their possessions; the Maltese estates in Italy were seized on and declared *national property*, and the directory sold them for its own advantage. The French republic, having never declared itself sovereign of this conquered country, having even established governments which were called independent, ought, certainly, to have left the property of the order entire for the new republics they were forming. But the directory had made a new code of distributive laws, or rather a new mode of appropriating all possessions, either public or private, to itself.

Even robbers preserve some shadow of justice, and divide the profits of their crimes : but the faith preserved among thieves did not exist in this case ; every thing that could possibly be carried away or sold being seized on as a matter of right by the French directory, or by those famished vultures who were termed its agents, and who proved themselves truly worthy of their rapacious chiefs. This same directory finished by leaving its victims to all the horrors of poverty and despair, and its accomplices a prey to shame and remorse. What a grievous reflection is it, that it was to enrich such monsters as these that the French army lavished its best blood, and that their generals exposed their honour, and tarnished the glory of their arms !

The directory made every possible effort to destroy the order of Malta in Germany ; but the part taken by the emperor of Russia on the occasion had so much influence on the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that the plenipotentiaries from these two powers at the congress of Rastadt constantly opposed all the plans formed by the French minister against the order.

When it was first decided that the congress should take place, the Maltese government fixed upon the bailiff de Truchess to represent it at Rastadt, and to defend the privileges of the order. But, according to one of the articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, none but the plenipotentiaries of the empire could be admitted at the congress. The sovereign order of Malta could not therefore send a representative ; and

that being the case, the grand-prior of Germany, as prince of Heitersheim, named the bailiff de Pfürdt to act as plenipotentiary for the order, and appointed the chevalier de Bray his co-operator. This knight was counsellor of the Maltese embassy, and as such had been employed a considerable time at the diet of Ratisbon, where he displayed so much zeal, and such great talents, that he certainly merited to have been more successful on the occasion.

This mission had every possible reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Austrian and Prussian ministers, and with the constant support they afforded it.

It was strongly proposed, in the congress of Rastadt, to consolidate the order of St. John of Jerusalem with the Teutonic order*; but the war having recommenced, that project was dropped. It certainly must appear a most extraordinary circumstance that an idea could possibly have been formed of confounding so useful an order, and which was constantly rendering the most essential services to the whole Christian world, with one which was not of the smallest utility to any but its own particular members. This union might indeed have been inverted; and such a proceeding would not only have been much more natural, but infinitely more just.

* The order was so far from being averse to this union, that it solicited it as a means of preservation, instead of regarding it as the destruction of the order. Such indeed had been its losses, that it appeared advantageous to be united to such an illustrious order as the Teutonic; which had the same views, both religious and military, as itself. But, on the other side, the order of Malta had not the most distant idea of requesting to be incorporated with it, and by so doing losing its own name, and title to the general interest of all the commercial nations in Europe.

C H A P. V.

The French arm a Fleet at Toulon. The Emperor of Russia makes Preparations for sending Assistance to Malta. Critical Situation of the Finances in that Island; its different Resources. Emissaries sent by the Directory to Malta; their Intrigues. Appearance of the French Fleet, under the Command of Brueys. Generous Conduct of the Grand-Master. The French Admiral fails in his Enterprize. Topographical and military Description of Malta. Enumeration and Distribution of the Forces of the Order. Nature of the War declared against Malta. Appearance of Part of the French Fleet. The Order makes Preparations for defending the Island. Arrival of Bonaparte, who demands free Entrance into the Port for the whole Squadron; the Grand-Master and Council refuse his Request. Bonaparte declares his hostile Intentions in a Letter from the French Consul.

DURING the insignificant negotiations which took place at the congress of Rastadt, the French republic never neglected any means which could possibly favour its different plans of invasion. Malta was a prey of which it never lost sight for a moment, and it had the most zealous agents in that island, with whom it was in constant correspondence.

The French influence encreased every day, from the almost miraculous success of the armies of the republic; whilst that of the order of Malta was extremely diminished, in consequence of having lost many of its possessions. Its finances, indeed, were in a most deplorable state, when France fitted

out a considerable fleet at Toulon. Russia, however, manifested a very ardent desire to afford it relief; and the new arrangements made at that court promised a supply of three hundred thousand crowns to the treasury of the order. Paul I. conceived the design of forming a grand-priory for the ancient and faithful nobles of the Greek church in his dominions. To this he intended to annex eighty-four commanderies, and to give ten thousand roubles every year towards the repairs of the fortifications, with the same sum to the hospital, which, with the *passage fees, the reception of the new commanders, the annual responsions, and the first semestres*, would have enriched the common treasury by more than three hundred thousand crowns. These different sums were on the point of being brought to Malta, and orders were issued out for the first payments to be made. But we will not anticipate the events which prevented the execution of this plan.

France, in the mean time, prepared a most formidable fleet, and bestowed the name of *the army of England* on the troops it was to transport*. But before we take notice of its departure, and the place of its destination, we will just take a view of the finances of the order, and examine how far it was in a state to face its enemies.

The revenue in 1788 amounted to 3,156,719 French livres, and the expenditure to 2,967,503; consequently there was a

* 1798.

balance in favour of the order of 189,216. The surplus, however, existed no longer from the moment the French revolution began; and it was followed by a *deficit* which became more considerable every day, and which was enormous indeed on the suppression of the order in France, in the year 1792. This great event occasioned not only the loss of all the property belonging to the three French languages, but likewise that of the commanderies situated in Alsace, Rousillon, and French Navarre, all of which were dependencies of the two languages of Germany and Arragon.

Some time after the almost general coalition was formed against France, the Spanish and Portuguese commanderies, which had never before paid any taxes to their respective governments, were called upon for a tenth of their revenue; and the commanderies in the kingdom of Naples and in Sicily were subjected to the same tax, and indeed to heavier ones. The order was treated still worse in Piedmont, where part of the property of the knights of Malta was ordered to be sold.

Independently of the losses occasioned by the above-mentioned royal taxes, the paper-money in circulation in Spain and part of Italy was an enormous one to the common treasury, which suffered considerably when it was necessary to realise the revenues due from those countries.

The left bank of the Rhine being ceded to the French by the treaty of Campo Formio, the order was deprived of all its property in these four new departments, and the different new

republics, formed on every side, successively robbed it of what it possessed in Helvetia and the Ligurian and Cisalpine states. If, therefore, these different losses be added to that of the three French languages, which brought in the annual sum of 1,392,974 livres to the public treasury, it will be evident that Malta was deprived of two thirds of its revenue, and that the receipts, which were more than three millions in 1788, were reduced to about one million.

In addition to this deficit, the order had borrowed sums, both in Malta and elsewhere, which amounted to six millions of French livres; and at last its credit was fallen so low, that no one could be found to advance more.

The plate belonging to the men-of-war and to the galleys was melted down and coined into money in 1796; as was indeed part of the grand-master's, together with some of that employed for the use of the sick in the hospital. The greatest attention was next paid to the means of encreasing the receipts and diminishing the expences; but, notwithstanding every effort, the former still continued so inferior to the latter, that many parts of the administration suffered essentially, particularly the navy, which it became so difficult to supply with proper armaments, that it was scarcely possible to equip such men-of-war as were absolutely necessary for keeping off the Barbary corsairs, which continually infested the coast.

The treasury was in daily expectation of assistance, which

would at least have afforded it temporary relief; for, besides the payment ordered by Russia, which amounted to three hundred thousand crowns, sixty thousand piasters (about a hundred thousand crowns) were expected from Spain. These arrived in Malta a few days after the French landed, and consequently became, in a great part, the prey of those merciless invaders. The order had likewise promised itself some extraordinary supplies from Portugal, in which country it still retained its possessions.

Independently of specie, the order had still some other resources left; such as the remaining part of the plate belonging to the hospital, the palace, and the different churches, together with some jewels kept in the conservatory. But the exhausted state of the treasury and the loss of credit were not the only enemies Malta had to encounter: the most dangerous ones, alas! were fostered in the very bosom of the order; and these traitors not only weakened, but rendered entirely useless, the members who were the most particularly essential to its preservation.

I shall abstain from mentioning the names of those knights who were suspected, and indeed loudly accused, of treason; but leave the law to take its course, without anticipating its sentence. I cannot, however, in my account of the surrender of Malta, pass over in silence the conduct of individuals on their different posts; but it is very possible to believe that the

apprehension of danger might, at such a moment, make men guilty of weakness, without suspecting them capable of premeditated guilt. I will also hope that you, natives of Malta! will be found innocent of this foul offence, and that you will never appear in the annals of history as an instance of the greatest ingratitude of which a people can possibly be guilty towards their sovereign. It must ever be remembered, that when you became subjects of the knights of Rhodes, your island contained scarcely fifteen thousand inhabitants, and that your only defence against the frequent incursions of the infidel corsairs was an inconsiderable fort, with one cannon and two falconets. A day seldom passed without some houses being pillaged, and your families enslaved; but, in a short time, your population encreased in an unheard-of proportion, your island became the bulwark of the Christian world, and considerable sums were constantly circulated in your country by a sovereign who never levied any direct taxes, but diffused riches and plenty throughout the whole of the island. What then could possibly be wanting to complete your happiness? Nothing, alas! but to value it as you ought to have done, and to sacrifice every thing to ensure its continuance.

Notwithstanding the French plenipotentiaries at the congress of Rastadt constantly professed the most pacific intentions, the apprehensions of the Maltese were far from being removed, and a constant eye was kept upon the different emissaries employed by France; one in particular, named

Poussielque*, was very well known. This man came to Malta on different pretences, and no one was ignorant that he held secret assemblies, and gave entertainments to all the partisans of the French revolution: he was therefore ordered to quit the country, after a stay of nearly three weeks.

The order was informed, at the same time, that the armament at Toulon went on with the greatest activity, and that the ships belonging to that department being not sufficient to contain the troops intended for the embarkation, it was determined to employ those at Corfu which had been taken from the republic of Venice.

Admiral Brueys was appointed to command this expedition; and on his return from the Levant, it was a matter of no small surprise to see him appear before Malta with a fleet of eighteen sail, men-of-war and frigates, which formed in line of battle, and proceeded directly towards the grand port. The admiral, as a cover to his real intentions, was preceded by a sixty-gun ship, which steered with all sails set to Fort St. Elmo, and the captain pretended that he wished to repair a leak which demanded immediate attention. According to the laws of neutrality, it was impossible to refuse his request: he was, therefore, together with a xebec which accompanied him, admitted into the port without the smallest difficulty, and

* He had a cousin at Malta, and went thither himself in January, 1798.—This same man has been since employed as commissary in Egypt. Some important observations of his on that expedition were made public, in the collection of intercepted letters.

provided with divers, caulkers, and other workmen necessary on such an occasion. During the whole of this time, the French shallops were remarked to be sounding the coasts, and examining the most favourable places for a disembarkation. As they approached the land, they were likewise observed making signals to the inhabitants; who, however, did not appear to answer them.

The above-mentioned sixty-gun ship remained eight days in the port; during which time the French consul was not idle, but frequently went backwards and forwards from the city to the fleet: he redoubled his intrigues, encouraged the evil-minded, and the very little opposition he met with in all these secret practices contributed to make him more bold and enterprising. Notwithstanding which, the admiral was of opinion that Malta was safe from a sudden attack. Perceiving therefore that all the ports were well furnished with artillery and troops, he thought it more prudent to set sail. He however imagined it necessary before he went to take notice of the eagerness with which all his wants had been supplied, and the continual attentions paid to him * and his crew: he therefore expressed his satisfaction to the grand-master, whom he quitted, after having assured him of the friendly and pacific intentions of the French government. The minister for the

* These attentions were carried so far, that the grand-master having heard the French admiral wished to present his lady one of the scarce breed of dogs called *bichons*, immediately sent him one by the French *chargé-d'affaires*.

naval department in France likewise charged the Maltese agent at Paris with official thanks on the occasion : it is therefore impossible not to be struck with the treachery of the French admiral, and the perfidious dissimulation of the directory ; since a very few months afterwards it shamelessly declared that Malta had been regarded as the enemy of France ever since the year 1792 *.

During the eight days that the French fleet was in sight of Malta, the grand-master was at considerable expence. He entirely supported the Maltese regiment of chasseurs, he distributed money among the troops, kept every one at his post, and appeared determined to make a resistance, which unfortunately never took place.

I have given a description of the fortresses and defensive ports of the island in another part of this history ; but I shall in this place enter into some short particulars relative to the military topography, which may probably serve to make the events I am about to relate more intelligible to the reader.

The city Valetta may be regarded as the central point of defence ; every other place being subordinate to this principal one, which is situated on a peninsula, on an elevated rock, entirely perpendicular in many parts, and perfectly inaccessible in others. It is therefore safe from all attacks on the side to-

* See the proclamation of the directory.

wards the sea. Fort St. Elmo, built at the extremity of the peninsula, defends the city at the entrance of the grand port, and at that of Marsa Musceit; and the part next the land presents two well-fortified fronts. Two cavaliers overlook both town and country, before which is a covert way leading to the *Floriana*, a fortress with a raised battery and walls adjoining the ramparts of the city. Within these walls is a *fausse braie*, improperly so called, from being separated from the walls by a ditch. In the front is a crowned horn-work with a covert way; and on this side the place is perfectly secure. The works of La Floriana are overlooked by those of the city Valetta, which with its two cavaliers commanded the whole country.

The fort Ricasoli and the castle St. Angelo flanked the city, and, by defending the grand port, secured the communication by sea.

Fort Manual and fort Tigné were equally useful to the other flank of La Valetta and the port of Marsa Musceit.

Fort Ricasoli is irregularly built, and commanded by many different heights.

The castle St. Angelo is extremely well fortified, particularly towards the sea. It is small, but may easily be supported by the city. There is, indeed, no danger of its falling, unless La Valetta be taken.

Fort Manual has five bastions, a half moon, and a covert way: it is undermined, and situated in a little island.

Fort Tigné defends the point of Marsa Musceit, and is supported by the city and fort Manual.

The only eminence which can endanger La Valetta is the Coradin; this is however overlooked by the upper part of Burmola, at the distance of about twelve hundred fathoms.

The three other cities, viz. the Burgh, La Sangle, and Burmola, have their respective fortifications, which all have a connection, and serve to protect each other.

The city La Sangle is situate, like the Burgh, on a point of land with a flanked enclosure on one side, and defended by the castle St. Angelo on the other. Burmola is situate in the hollow part formed by the two points of land. The front of both these places is defended by fort St. Margaret, and the Cotoner surrounds the whole of the fortifications. This fortress was never finished, has neither a covert way nor advanced works, and consists merely of simple bastions, many of which have no ramparts.

The old city stands upon a hill, which overlooks the whole country as far as La Valetta. It has no counterscarp on one side, and no other defence than a wall, built on a soil easily undermined, on the other. There is, indeed, a small front with a ditch and covert way; but this is become useless from houses being built upon it; consequently this place could hold out but a very short time.

The great number of different places where it would be easy to effect a landing, and the methods taken to prevent it,

have already been mentioned in the course of this history ; we shall therefore now point out the means to frustrate the designs of the enemy, even after a disembarkation had taken place.

The cultivated and inhabited part of Malta is separated from the rest by a chain of hills which cross the island. On the top of these hills an intrenchment has been made, called *Nasciar*. This consists of a simple wall five feet thick, behind which the troops on the different stations were to fall back, if they were unable to prevent a disembarkation : and if no hopes remained of stopping the progress of the enemy, they were to retire into the Cotoner, after having either withdrawn or spiked their cannon.

Forts and batteries have been erected at the two ports of St. Paul and Marsa Sirrocco, in which first-rates may cast anchor ; and this has been done to prevent the approach of such vessels by means of a cross-fire. But the land side having no such defence, nothing could possibly be done against an enemy who had once effected a landing.

Towers and redoubts were constructed along the whole coast in such a manner as to communicate almost immediately with each other, and by that means quickly make known every thing that was going forwards ; it was therefore supposed that twenty-four thousand men might always prevent a disembarkation, and that with half the number the city

La Valetta would be able to resist the most formidable attack.

The forces belonging to the order consisted of,

- 1st. 200 French knights.
- 90 Italian ditto.
- 25 Spanish.
- 8 Portuguese.
- 4 German.
- 5 Anglo-Bavarian.

Total 332. But fifty out of that number were disabled by age and infirmities; consequently there only remained 282 knights capable of bearing arms.

2d.	The Maltese regiment, composed of only	500 men
3d.	The grand-master's guards	200
4th.	The battalion for the men-of-war	400
5th.	Ditto for the galleys	300
6th.	Old gunners	100
7th.	Militia, embodied into a regiment of chasseurs	1200
8th.	Sailors belonging to the men-of-war and galleys, and who acted as gunners	1200
9th.	The militia	3000
Total		6300

The latter might be increased to 10,000 men, all Maltese capable of bearing arms being obliged to march at the first requisition.

The command of the troops in La Valetta belonged as matter of right to the marshal, and that of the country militia to the senechal. The bailiff de Loras held the former, and the bailiff de Rohan the latter, post.

The four lieutenant-generals who acted under the senechal were the bailiffs de Clugny and Thomasi for the land department, and the bailiff de Suffrein and captain Subiras for the coast. The defence of Malta was therefore divided into two parts.

The old city, being incapable of holding out more than a few hours, was under the command of the governor, who was always a Maltese. The garrison was composed of militia; and the general officer, who would have retired into it in case of an attack, would have taken the command.

The island of Goza was commanded by the governor, the commander Megrigny Ville Bertin.

The island of Cumin, by the chevalier de Valin.

The Red Tower, by the chevalier de St. Simon.

The Melleha, by the commander Bizien.

St. Paul, by the chevalier de la Perrouse.

St. Julian, by the chevalier de Précille.

[These last two stations were under the command of a captain of a man-of-war, the commander de St. Felix.]

St. Thomas, by the chevalier du Pin de la Gué Riviere.

Marsa Sirocco, by the commander de Rozan.

Floriana, by the bailiff de Belmont.

Fort Manual, by the bailiffs Gourgeau and La Tour St. Quintin.

Fort Tigné, by the commander Reichberg.

Fort Ricasoli, by the bailiff de Tillet, during the absence of the bailiff de Clugny.

Castle St. Angelo, by the chevalier de Gournay, major of the grand-master's guards.

The Burgh, by the commander de Gondrecourt.

Isle of La Sangle, by the bailiff de Suffrein St. Tropez, captain of a man-of-war.

Burmola, by the commander Sabiras, ditto.

The enclosure of the Cotoner, by the bailiff de la Tour de Pin.

The intrenchment of Nasciar. The station of the two lieutenant-generals in the land department.

The bastions and the cavaliers were served by the knights, who relieved each other and mounted guard by turns: these were under the command of the commander Axamano and the chevaliers de Brull and Ascona.

The regiment of chasseurs was commanded by the bailiff Neveu.

The regiment of Malta, by the commander Pfiffer, who remained in the city Valetta with all his regiment, except one detachment at fort Tigné, and another at fort St. Angelo.

The grand-master's guards, by the chevalier Guron, the commandant who remained near the person of the grand-master.

All promotions among the subalterns were in the gift of the different commanders.

Such were the means of defence in Malta, and the disposition of the troops at the different stations; which certainly were sufficient to have stopped the progress of the enemy for a considerable length of time.

The order had undoubtedly every possible reason to depend on the valour of its members. *Never to reckon the number of the enemy*, made a part of their oath at their admission. The greatest number of the knights had no longer a country of their own: a barren rock was become their sole dependence; but on that rock they received that consolation which religion must ever afford. The moment was now arrived when their honour and glory were at stake, and to die in their defence was a duty, not an effort. As Christians, they must necessarily defend their altars; and being nursed in the cradle of honour, and bred up to the glorious profession of arms, their career was plainly marked out, and they ought to have sacrificed the last drop of their blood on the occasion. *To die at their posts* was an engagement entered into with all Christendom, of which Malta was the bulwark; and this engagement was likewise contracted with the nobles of all countries to whom it may be said that Malta particularly belonged, from the right they had of being incorporated into the order from their earliest years. The knights might also reasonably depend on a people whose happiness had ever been consulted,

and who were neither ruined by fiscal laws nor harassed by taxes; and on a country, where industry was constantly encouraged, where the sceptre was wielded by paternal hands, where the subject was under the immediate eye of the sovereign, and where all complaints were instantly heard and determined. Gratitude for such goodness was therefore a duty in this people; and it was natural to suppose they would defend themselves against a foreign enemy, whose invasion must necessarily affect the community at large. It was not then so much on the number of the troops as on the bravery of the knights and the fidelity of the people that the government depended. With this united force, manning the bulwarks of the island, which were master-pieces in the art of fortification, the order might certainly have defended itself, or, at all events, yielded with honour. But the war against Malta was of a nature entirely unknown to the knights and other faithful subjects: it was, alas! of the same kind as that which induced the brave Swiss to turn their arms against their chiefs, and to contribute (without knowing the consequence of their conduct) to the destruction of a government always dear to their hearts, the re-establishment of which they have ever since vainly implored. It was likewise the same which overturned the most ancient republic existing, and entirely annihilated its government; and which, still more recently, was on the point of ruining a corps ever famous for the superior excellence of its discipline—the British navy.

The first division of the fleet, which had for some time kept the whole of Europe in suspense, at last appeared in sight of Malta on the 6th of June. Two Greek vessels arrived a few hours afterwards, and, wishing to appear to have sailed from the Levant, had come a circuitous way, to prevent suspicion. They pretended to be laden with corn, bought in the Archipelago, and were accordingly ordered to perform quarantine. These vessels were, in fact, sent to second the evil designs of the revolutionists who inhabited the island, and had on board chests filled with arms.

The sight of this advanced guard of the French fleet caused the greatest disquietude among the knights and people, which the evil-disposed and weak-minded contributed not a little to encrease. The division, which consisted of seventy transports and a few frigates, appeared in full sail before the port, but not within cannon-shot. Commodore Sidoux, perceiving the batteries on the shore both armed and reinforced, expressed not only his surprise on the occasion, but his wishes to preserve the neutrality which had constantly subsisted between France and the order. Several small vessels in want of repairs were accordingly admitted into the port; these paid punctually for every thing which was done, at the same time giving out that the most important affairs called the fleet into Egypt.

Different preparations being made by order of the war-office in the interior of Malta, and which were principally exe-

cuted by the bailiff de la Tour de Pin, general Ardot wrote to the French consul Caruson, expressing his great surprise that the appearance of the French fleet should cause such an alarm, and to request that he would not only remove the fears of the grand-master, but declare formally that he intended nothing hostile against the island, which the French republic had ever regarded, and always meant to treat, as an ally.

In support of the pacific declarations made by the French general, the commander Dolomieu, who was on board the fleet, wrote several letters to his friend Bodon de Ransijat, which contained the strongest assurances of peace and the good intentions of the commander in chief. Great care was taken to make the contents public, in order to inspire the people with false confidence, and induce them to believe themselves in a state of perfect safety.

Ransijat even went so far as to read one of Dolomieu's letters to the grand-master; in which he said, that neither the government nor order had any cause for alarm, and that the expedition was certainly not intended against Malta.

On the evening of the 9th of June the remainder of the French fleet made its appearance, under the command of Bonaparte; who immediately sent to the French consul, desiring him to demand of the grand-master, in his name, the free entry of all the ports for the whole of the fleet and convoy, together with the liberty of landing. Hompesch and the council made

that the laws of the country prevented his request being complied with; but that all possible assistance and refreshments should be bestowed and distributed.

It is impossible to describe the confusion which reigned throughout Malta, when the designs of Bonaparte no longer remained doubtful; and this confusion was greatly encreased on perceiving that the French consul, who had been dispatched with the reply of the council, did not return.

The French fleet, extending the whole way from the island of Goza to Marsa Sirocco, appeared to threaten every vulnerable part of the coast. The consul, Caruson, not contented with executing the commission with which he was charged, gave Bonaparte a list of all the Maltese on whose assistance he might depend: the number amounted to four thousand, who promised to join the French, and murder the knights on the first bomb being thrown into the town; that being the signal agreed on for the plot to be carried into execution.

When the attack intended to be made on the following day was no longer doubtful, orders were given for the militia to arm, to pallisade, and to remove all the powder from the Cotoner to the city. These different operations would have required at least eight days to perform, even in the most peaceable times.

The bailiff de la Tour du Pin was charged with the execution of the last part of the orders; and he ordered the com-

mander de Thuisy to second him on the occasion. They had soldiers under them to form a chain the whole way to the sea, with fifteen knights to escort the powder to the storehouses: but the conspirators took care that neither mules nor waggons should be found; and the enterprise became still more difficult the next day, when the same evil-disposed persons had so effectually persuaded the inhabitants of the enclosure of the Cotoner, that if the powder was taken away they must be deprived of all means of defence, that not one of them would assist in the removal: the bailiff de la Tour du Pin, together with the commander de Thuisy and a third person, were therefore obliged to perform, though but imperfectly, this necessary work themselves.

The knights were immediately sent to their different posts, whither they flew with the utmost eagerness. One alone among the number thought it his duty to abandon the order at this moment of universal danger. Bordon de Ransijat, the secretary of the treasury*, *at the very instant when the French began to effect a landing*†, wrote to the grand-master, desiring him to commit the care of the keys of the treasury to another knight, and at the same time to appoint a place for him to remain in during the action; *since neither his duty nor his inclina-*

* The same who has been frequently mentioned in the course of this history.

† It was in this manner he thought proper to choose the precise moment when he refused to engage in the field of battle.

tion would allow him to fight against the French. Ransijat was immediately conveyed to the castle St. Angelo, which was undoubtedly the gentlest treatment he could possibly expect to receive. This bad example was fortunately followed by no other person; and the whole body of the knights, together with the people, seemed determined to defend themselves from all foreign enemies. The nobles, magistrates, lawyers, and rich citizens, all appeared perfectly calm, and gave every reason to believe that, in case of an attack, they would never contribute to impede the measures of government.

On the 9th of June, at day-break, the French appeared in their long-boats, which were filled with troops, and advanced immediately towards the place destined for their disembarkation.

An officer then delivered a letter from the French consul, Caruson, to the grand-master, couched in the following terms:
“ Having been appointed to go on board the admiral’s ship,
“ with your serene highness’s answer to the request made by
“ the French to allow their squadron to take in water in your
“ ports, I am commissioned to say, that the French general is
“ very indignant that only four vessels should be permitted to
“ enter at a time for that purpose: it would indeed, under
“ such restrictions, require a considerable length of time for
“ four or five hundred sail to be provided with water and
“ other articles of which the squadron is in absolute want.
“ The general is still more surprised at your refusal, since he

“ is perfectly well acquainted not only with the permission
“ allowed to the English*, but with the proclamation issued
“ by your serene highness’s predecessor. The general is there-
“ fore determined to obtain by force what ought to have been
“ granted him according to the principles of hospitality, which
“ form the basis of your order†. So considerable are the
“ forces under his command, that I plainly foresee it will be
“ impossible for the order to resist them. That being the
“ case, it is greatly to be wished, that, on so important an occa-
“ sion, your serene highness, through love for the order, the
“ knights, and indeed the people at large, had proposed some
“ means of accommodation. The general would not permit me
“ to return to a city which he shall be obliged for the future
“ to treat as an enemy, and which has now no resource left
“ but in the generosity of the general, who has given strict
“ orders, that the religion, manners, and property of the Mal-
“ tese shall be most scrupulously respected.”

* The time when the order granted permission for the whole of the English fleet to enter the port, ought to have been mentioned ; but that could not very easily be done. The English admirals were too well acquainted with the laws of neutrality to make a demand inconsistent with them, and respected the law of nations too much ever to violate it.

† If any one had asked the commander in chief what was the basis of the government he served, and which he afterwards destroyed as tyrannical and unjust, he would, perhaps, have been puzzled for a reply.

CHAP. VI.

The French land in Malta. The general Terror on the Occasion. Disorder and Confusion reign throughout the Island. The Troops disregard all Discipline. The Order make a Sally by Land and by Sea. Bonaparte's Harangue to the French Knights who were taken Prisoners. Several Knights killed, wounded, and ignominiously treated. The Grand-Master in a critical Situation. Tumults of the People. The Greeks make an Attempt, which fails. Deputation sent to the Grand-Master. A tumultuous Body of People assail the Palace. The Council assembled. Ransijat delivered. The Capitulation.

AT the close of day, on the 9th of June, the French landed their troops at Magdalen creek; and on their approach one single cannon shot was fired from fort St. George: the great ease, indeed, with which they took possession of that important place, gave but too much reason to accuse the commander, if not of treason, at least of want of foresight and cowardice.

The fleet continued making signals the whole of the night, and at day-break the French shallops were seen advancing towards seven different points, viz. Goza, Cumino, La Melleha, Salmon, St. George, St. Julian, and La Tombrella; none of which made any resistance except Goza, which was attacked by general Regnier, and defended by the commander De Megrigny. Vice-admiral Blanquet, with his division and the Civita Vecchia convoy, advanced towards Marsa Sirocco creek, where general Dessaix disembarked the general of bri-

gade Baillard, with the twenty-first brigade. The convoy from Genoa landed the troops at St. Paul; and that from Marseilles at Goza.

The revolutionary tactics now began; and the moment the French made good their landing, an universal terror took place: so great indeed was the alarm among the militia, which mounted guard at the forts and batteries on the coast, that they precipitately abandoned their posts. The Birkarhara militia, posted at the battery of Point St. Julian, immediately evacuated that place, which was of the first importance, and took refuge under the cannon at fort Manual. The landing, however, was far from being imposing; for the ships were at too great a distance to cause any apprehension from the effect of their fire: they, indeed, took care to keep out of cannon shot, in order to avoid the red-hot balls.

The French, accompanied by the malcontents and a banditti of villains, ranged through the country, laying waste all before them. The militia quartered in the different villages defended themselves very courageously, and put to death several of these plunderers.

The general of brigade Lasne, and the chief of brigade, Marmont, soon arrived within cannon shot of the city; but the want of artillery forced them to halt.

The inhabitants of the country now began to flock in crowds towards La Valetta, carrying with them all their valuables. As they fled, every possible means was taken to

add to their despair. Treason was talked of; and they were taught to believe that they were abandoned to their fate. They then began to doubt the fidelity of the knights; and the most artful insinuations against their honour were circulated with a rapidity impossible to suppress. Two centuries of submission and respect were thus destroyed in one moment; the voice of the commander was entirely stifled, and the dignity of government no longer acknowledged. The merit of obedience disappeared, and a general insubordination commenced. The people disputed the authority of government. Loud cries succeeded these representations, and complaints were followed by threats. Such were the preparatives to the total disorganisation which took place. All military discipline, and indeed every thing which could curb the passions of mankind, was destroyed; and from that moment nothing could be expected but the most atrocious crimes.

The people declared themselves against the French knights; and the intelligence they constantly received of ill-fortune increased their violence, and the Maltese soldiers presently imbibed the same sentiments. Advice was brought, that the Nasciar intrenchment was evacuated, and that the regiment of the same name had taken flight, and retreated into the old city, not with any view of defending it, but in order to open the gates to general Vaubois. The *hakem testaferrata* delivered him up the keys, without even being summoned so to

do. The communication between the country and the city La Valetta had been hitherto open; but that was no longer the case after the evacuation of the Nasciar intrenchment. The seneschal established his head-quarters at the Floriana; the bailiff de Clugni took the command of fort Ricasoli, and the bailiff de Thomasi, who with some faithful militia had kept his post for some time, being flanked by a body of French just landed at St. George and St. Julian, retreated with great difficulty into the city.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon the chevalier de Soubiras went out of the Grand Port with one galley, two galiots, and an armed shallop: these vessels fired briskly on the shallops employed in landing the enemy, one of which they sunk, together with a gun-boat. The artillery at fort St. Elme and fort Tigné being very well served, greatly supported this enterprise; but the calm, which was much in favour of these rowing boats, having ceased, they were forced to make good their retreat.

A sally was attempted to be made with nine hundred men, chosen from among the regular troops; and the soldiers at first appeared perfectly well disposed to perform their duty; but meeting on every side multitudes of terrified runaways, they presently were seized with the same apprehensions, and could scarcely be induced to present themselves before the French. They were soon pursued very vigorously by general

Marmont at the head of the nineteenth brigade, who having overtaken some of the number, the rest escaped with difficulty, and took shelter under the cannon of the city.

These two enterprises were so unsuccessful, that no more of the same nature were afterwards attempted : indeed, when once a landing is effected, they are generally useless, and sometimes even dangerous.

Towards mid-day the whole of the country, together with all the towers, except Marsa Sirocco, were in the possession of the French, and almost all the knights at the different forts taken prisoners and carried to Bonaparte ; whose address to them on this occasion gives an idea of impatience, and haughtiness of character which never afterwards appeared in his conduct. Eighteen knights, all of whom were French, were brought before him, to whom he instantly said, " What ! am I constantly to meet with knights who have taken up arms against their country ? I ought to give orders to have you all shot immediately." He afterwards added, " How could you ever believe it possible to defend yourselves, with a few wretched peasants, against troops which have conquered and subdued the whole of Europe*?" After this intemperate

* M. Denon, in the magnificent work he has lately published on Egypt, makes Bonaparte address himself in a very different manner to the knights of Malta who had been taken prisoners and brought before him on the 23d Prairial. "*Since you were capable of taking up arms against your country,*" said he, "*you must know how to meet death. I will not accept of you as prisoners ; you may therefore return to Malta, and stay there till it shall become my property.*" I am willing to believe Denon's favourite hero was incapable of hold-

speech, he presently reassumed his usual prudence, of which he had lost sight for a moment; and gave orders that the prisoners should be well treated, who in future had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of both soldiers and officers.

Before I quit this scene of confusion, I may surely be allowed to make some mention of all those illustrious victims who fell a sacrifice to the sword of the regicide in those fatal moments. Their place indeed is marked in the pages of history, next to those heroes who have died in defence of their religion and country; and may the splendor of their glory

ing such false, and such inexcusable language. I will make no remarks on the first part of this discourse, which is a reproach made by all conquerors to the conquered, however unjust the first hostilities: but the words *you must know how to meet death* deserve some observations; though they do not explain the kind of death they were to meet, to please the commander-in-chief. As a military man, we must believe he could only mean they were to die sword in hand: yet Bonaparte, as a patriot and a general, could never wish that to be the case; since by dying sword in hand the French knights, in his opinion, would be guilty of the greatest of crimes, that of treason against the nation. He could not therefore wish his countrymen to become so highly culpable; besides, it was natural to suppose, that were they to perish in this manner, many of his soldiers would likewise be slain, whose lives it was greatly his interest to preserve. The smallest resistance made by the knights might have prevented the success of his expedition to Egypt; he therefore could never wish, and still less provoke, them to take up arms. He was unfortunately too well acquainted with the bravery of the French knights, ever to permit them to return to Malta; and he could not possibly pay a greater compliment to their valour, than by persuading them to enlist under his banners on his becoming master of the island. As to the discourse we have mentioned in this history, which was delivered before witnesses whose testimony cannot possibly be doubted, it was, in strict justice, excusable, and may be thus interpreted: Bonaparte, being surrounded by the spies of the directory, thought it necessary to make use of terrific expressions, though he was inwardly determined (as it afterwards proved) to act with humanity. He might also think it necessary to address his soldiers, whom he was on the point of taking on a dangerous expedition, in terms which indeed were rather presumptuous, but which might possibly tend to animate their courage.

eclipse, if possible, the horrid crimes which called forth their virtues !

An universal disorganisation had, as has been already mentioned, taken place : but for some time the rage and despair of the people were only vented in abuse and tumultuous vociferation; an habitual and ancient veneration for their superiors still withheld the arm of the assassin. But at last all restraint was broken through ; a dreadful massacre began, and blood flowed on every side. The roaring of these horrible cannibals resounded in the air, and the most savage joy burst forth. The dwelling of the sovereign himself was not respected, but stained with the blood of his faithful knights. Those who escaped the dagger aimed at their hearts, were treated in the most ignominious manner, and dragged down the bloody steps of the palace. The troops which still continued attached to their duty, had the greatest difficulty in rescuing from these sanguinary wretches those knights who appeared ready to sacrifice their lives to prevent the commission of further crimes. Among the number who fell victims to the stroke of the assassin were, the chevaliers de Montaret, de Valin, Dormic, and Dandelard. The chevaliers de Roux, du Quesnoi, and du Chatelet, were dangerously wounded, and carried to the palace amidst the hisses and insulting reproaches of these butchering people. The chevaliers de Rigaud, de Cornet, and de Guebriant, were likewise wounded by a musquet-shot. Many others were closely pursued, and escaped with difficulty

the torments which awaited them. An armed force, however, at last put a stop to these disorders, and restored some degree of quiet; but the silence which followed gave every reason to expect the most dreadful consequences, since it plainly proved the weakness of the government. Indeed, from that moment all was over, and Malta lost.

Before the close of day, general Baraguay d'Hilliers had possessed himself of the whole southern part of the island. General Dessaix advanced within pistol-shot of the cotoner and the glacis of fort Ricasoli. Some French piquets came towards port Marsa Musccit, and ventured even under the fortifications to reconnoitre whether fort Manual and fort Tigné were in a state of defence; and they approached so near to the batteries, that many were killed by the cannon. In short, the city La Valetta and its dependencies were invested that evening on all sides, and the rest of the island entirely subdued. The city indeed still continued firing cannon during the night, but without any effect.

The whole of the night between the 10th and 11th of June was passed in the most tumultuous manner. Reports calculated to raise an insurrection among the people, were spread with unexampled diligence and treachery. Particular pains were taken to excite the rage of the multitude against the French knights, whom these wretches accused of being in correspondence with their countrymen, and of having left the forts without provisions and ammunition: but the really guilty

were among those whom they regarded as their friends and protectors. The situation of the order was now become critical indeed ; for it could scarcely depend on more than four thousand defenders. Weak as were these resources, there were still other circumstances which tended to encrease its apprehensions ; for it was impossible not to perceive that the orders were either improperly given, or still more improperly executed. A servant of arms named Jassard, who was chief engineer, and de Fay, who had the direction of the artillery, were accused, when this deplorable catastrophe took place, of not having performed their duty : indeed the favour in which they stood with the assassins and with the lowest of the people, is too ignominious a stain on their characters, for an appeal of whatsoever nature, and to whatsoever tribunal, ever to efface.

Early in the morning of the 11th, these riotous assemblies encreased prodigiously ; and forming several different groups demanded vociferously that the traitors should be delivered over to punishment. Unfortunately, the most irreproachable commanders were pointed out instead of the real criminals, who were immediately under the protection of the people. The militia refused to remain in the different forts : not from the apprehension of wanting provisions, for it was perfectly known that they were sufficiently furnished with every thing necessary ; but merely from a spirit of rebellion.

The French, during the whole of this time, remained quiet

spectators of all that passed within the city: but they were very well acquainted with every circumstance, and contrived to make the inhabitants believe that they had raised formidable batteries in the course of the night, from which they meant immediately to fire upon the town; when, in truth, they had only begun, and that indeed but as a matter of form, to disembark the ordnance intended for a siege which they plainly perceived they should never be obliged to undertake; for the terror they had inspired was too great ever to be entirely calmed.

On the approach of the French fleet, the Greek vessels already mentioned, and which were supposed to be laden with provisions, were ordered to anchor in the grand port. But the commotions among the people within the city, plainly shewed that the moment was at last arrived for them to declare themselves, and to join the seditious party; in consequence of which, they not only armed their crews, which were very numerous, but distributed arms among those whom they had invited aboard. Instead, therefore, of ill-dressed sailors, well-armed soldiers, who had been hitherto carefully disguised, made their appearance. Fortunately, however, they were first perceived by some troops who still continued faithful to their duty; and who, discovering the intentions of these fresh enemies, fell upon them, together with those among the people who were well disposed to the cause, with the greatest fury; and having killed about twenty, and wounded a great number,

they attacked the rest with such violence, that it was scarcely possible for their commanders to prevent their putting them immediately to death. They were, however, made prisoners and closely confined; the vessels were visited, and the arms and ammunition with which, instead of corn, they were laden, secured.

In the mean time the grand-master used every possible method to regain the confidence of the people, and to inspire the soldiers with fresh courage; he spared neither promises nor offers of money; but without success, for both the one and the other had thrown off all respect for their former chiefs. The patrols, led astray by the evil-minded, without any commanders but those whom they had capriciously chosen for themselves, apprehended an enemy in all they met, and were equally fearful of the inhabitants and the knights. The confusion and disorder were indeed arrived at such a pitch, that the militia shot each other in the streets.

Some of the citizens, joined to other inhabitants of different classes, terrified at all that passed, flew to the palace, and asking for the grand-master, entreated him, with tears in their eyes and in the most respectful terms, to pay some attention to the safety of the city, and the property of the inhabitants; to which he answered, that he would assemble the council and deliberate on their request, since they once more acknowledged the power of their sovereign. A spirited and noble conduct in the grand-master might have brought over the soldiery and the

well-disposed among the inhabitants to his party ; and at the same time engaged in his favour the undecided and weak-minded, which always compose the majority. What a lively impression would it most probably have made, had the grand-master sallied forth in the armour worn by La Valette ; that armour which must have called to remembrance so many virtues worthy of imitation, and so many duties to be fulfilled ! But, alas ! it was otherwise decided ; and the deputies were informed, that they must defend themselves to the last drop of their blood. It is an undoubted truth, that there are decisive moments on which depends the fate of empires, as well indeed to save as to conquer them ; the only skill consists in knowing how to use them advantageously : but an opportunity thus lost, presents itself no more.

The grand-master, who suspected the fidelity of some of the commanders, thought proper to take upon himself the management of their different employments. He therefore gave orders, that the reports should be brought directly to him, and to the assembly of the states, which had been joined with him in the government.

Nearly an hour after sunset a report was spread, that the French had entered the city ; and this occasioned a general commotion. Knots of armed men were formed on all sides, and musquets fired from different parts : the alarm and confusion encreased surprisingly : the patrols were augmented ; but their presence only served to raise the indignation of the

people to a still higher pitch ; and, as they could not keep them within any bounds, they ended by listening to their complaints, and being seduced from their duty. The bailiff de Neven, who for thirty-three years had been idolised both in town and country (when, indeed, the love of the people was an honourable distinction), was now fired upon by one of the patrols, and most dangerously wounded.

The step taken by the citizens and others when they addressed the grand-master, proved to the revolutionists that his authority was still in some degree acknowledged ; they therefore resolved to destroy the weak remains of his power, and made choice of the night as the most favourable moment for striking this last blow. Amidst the terrible confusion which reigned throughout the city, emissaries had been artfully dispersed in different parts to poison the minds of the people. They therefore prepared the way for the success of their enterprise, by inspiring the multitude with sentiments of terror and mistrust ; and discouraging them as much as possible, by representing the dangerous uncertainty of their situation. A numerous band composed of Maltese nobles, lawyers, citizens, and shopkeepers, invaded the palace, and declared, with threats, that they were not in the least inclined to entrust their safety to the care of the order, nor to any measures it might think proper to take for their defence ; that they had therefore signed a paper before the Dutch consul, intimating their decided resolution of submitting to the French,

and had charged him to deliver it into the hands of general Bonaparte, without attending to the determination of the order. They likewise added, that it was evident there was treason in the case, since neither the orders issued out nor the plans of defence were ever executed; that provisions were stopped, and the ammunition either taken away or adulterated; that the reports were never faithfully given; and that the massacre which had taken place among the knights and the Greeks was a proof of the people's having contracted a certain savageness of disposition, which in the end might cause a general insurrection followed by the most dreadful calamities. Nothing could be more perfectly true than every thing they advanced;—but they ought likewise to have added, that they themselves were the original authors of all these misfortunes.

The government was perfectly aware of its inability to resist these rebels, who walked triumphantly through the apartments of the palace as if it already made a part of their possessions.

There still, however, remained a considerable portion of the people which as yet had come to no decided resolution; and on these men the government had some degree of dependence. At one moment they seemed decided to repulse the French, and to reject all the schemes and measures they proposed to them: and at another, they determined to continue under the government of the knights; only receiving the French as guests, without permitting the sovereignty of the

order to suffer from that circumstance. They next talked of defending the city, though they believed the enemy already within its gates ; but afterwards refused to fight, since hostilities would only serve to drown the streets in blood, and that without reaping any fruits from their resistance.

Thus were these miserable people tormented by uncertainty, and unable to come to any decision ; because no one could be found possessed of sufficient energy to induce them to make a choice worthy of their ancestors, and of the noble exploits they formerly performed. They therefore remained in a state of nullity and inaction, but too favourable to the designs of the seditious part of the community, who were far from undecided in their plans, being supported and advised by people but too well accustomed to rebellion and crimes of every kind. They continued to create disturbances on all sides, and were encouraged to proceed by the very few obstacles they met with to impede their designs.

Whilst the order was employed in calling together the council, the massacres recommenced, and the firing was heard in the palace. The members who were assembling near the government-house, were grossly insulted and their lives threatened : it was, indeed, with the greatest difficulty that the knights of Castille and Bavaria succeeded in saving the Russian minister (the chevalier O'Hara) ; who, being hurried away by a sentiment of generosity, rushed into the midst of a group of these furious villains, who, when he endeavoured to per-

suade them to return to their duty and to become more merciful, instantly tried to revenge on him the loss of the prey he had succeeded in wresting from their murdering hands.

The grand-master decided, though perhaps too late, on presenting himself to the people, addressing them, and passing through the city to the Floriana, the most advanced post in the island. The congregation of the states, together with the knights who surrounded his person, strongly opposed this measure ; by representing that in thus exposing himself, he endangered the order, which must infallibly be destroyed if any of the rebels should succeed in taking away his life. They added, that he was not master of his own person, which belonged of right to the community at large, and even went so far as to make some resistance on the occasion ; the grand-master therefore thought himself obliged to give up the point, and to stifle this generous impulse, which, if properly followed, might perhaps have saved the order, or at least have put an honourable end to its existence.

Let us, however, rather pity than condemn those princes, who, being surrounded in such critical moments by weakminded and insufficient people, are accused of faults which are generally committed by those in whom unfortunately they have placed their confidence.

The council was scarcely convened, before repeated cries of Liberty, Equality, and Long life to Ransijat, resounded in the air. This knight had just quitted the castle of St. Angelo,

and was carried in triumph to the palace. The Maltese rushed into the council-chamber, and repeated what they had already said ; insisting not only on some among them being admitted into the assembly, but on seeing a letter which was intended to be sent to the French general to demand an armistice of four-and-twenty hours.

Their orders were immediately obeyed, and some of their deputies accompanied those dispatched by the council to Bonaparte. The assassinations and firing ceased on their quitting the palace, and a moment of quiet succeeded :—but this lasted not long : for the deputies not returning so soon as was expected, the outcries became more violent than ever ; a general insurrection took place, and seemed to threaten the most dreadful misfortunes, which were however prevented by the arrival of Bonaparte's answer, announcing that he would enter the city the following day, and that he would then make known, through the medium of the Spanish chargé-d'affaires, in what manner he intended to treat the order and the grand-master. The Maltese deputies were accompanied by one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp and some French commissioners, who began making the same preparations for the entrance of the French as they would have done had the city surrendered ; and this, notwithstanding the grand-master and council had only agreed to treat for an armistice of twenty-four hours.

Bonaparte entered the city the very same evening, and took up his lodging at the marquis Paradisi's, a noble Maltese.

It was generally supposed his first visit would have been to the grand-master, who had sent him word that he expected him to supper; but the commander in chief, on the contrary, thought the grand-master ought to have come in person, at the head of all his knights, to pay him that compliment. The grand-master, however, could not so soon prevail upon himself to wait on Bonaparte; and it was not till after the expiration of several days that, in compliance with the entreaties of some of the ancients of the order, he consented to take a step which he was taught to believe would be productive of general good to the community. The coldness of all parties in this interview, and the indifferent subjects of conversation, do not deserve a place in this history.

The capitulation, at first only partially known, was now made public, and contained the eight following articles; which I should not have mentioned in this place, were it not to make known the persons who signed it, and the punctuality with which it was observed.

ARTICLE I.—The knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army; at the same time renouncing in favour of the French republic all right of property and sovereignty over that island, together with those of Goza and Cumino.

ARTICLE II.—The French republic shall employ all its credit at the congress of Rastadt, to procure a prin-

cipality for the grand-master equivalent to the one he gives up ; and the said republic engages to pay him in the mean time an annual pension of three hundred thousand French livres, besides two annats of the pension by way of indemnification for his personals. He shall also be treated with the usual military honours during the whole of his stay in Malta.

ARTICLE III.—The French knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem actually resident in Malta, if acknowledged as such by the commander in chief, shall be permitted to return to their own country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, that this third article may remain in force for the knights of those several nations.

ARTICLE IV.—The French republic shall make over an annual pension of seven hundred French livres to each knight now resident in Malta ; and one thousand livres to those whose ages exceed sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, to grant the same pension to the knights of their respective countries.

ARTICLE V.—The French republic shall employ its credit with the different powers, that the knights of each nation may be allowed to exercise their right over the

property of the order of Malta situated in their dominions.

ARTICLE VI.—The knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or in Goza.

ARTICLE VII.—The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Goza shall be allowed, the same as before, the free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion: their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, and they shall not be subject *to any extraordinary taxes*.

ARTICLE VIII.—All civil acts passed during the government of the order, shall still remain valid.

Done and concluded on board the *Orient*
off Malta, on the 24th Prairial, the
6th year of the French republic (12th
June, 1798).

The commander Bosredon de Ransijat (who had
forsaken the order).

The bailiff Marie Testa Ferrata,	} all Maltese.
Doctor Jean Nies Muscat,	
Doctor Benoit Schembri,	
Counsellor Bonani.	

The bailiff de Turin Frisani, without prejudice to
the right of dominion which belongs to my
sovereign the king of the Two Sicilies.

Chev. Philippe Amat, the Spanish chargé-d'affaires.

The name of Ransijat stands foremost on the list; and shines conspicuous at the head of the articles, entitled the capitulation of the grand-master and order of Malta. This timorous and conscientious man, who made such difficulties when there was question of defending his post sword in hand, immediately becomes in a moment of peace bold and audacious, fearing no longer to resume his station, and to give a mortal stab to his order, *though protesting at the same time that he was truly and entirely attached to its interests.* It will, however, presently be seen, that he; together with the Maltese whose names are joined to his, were held in detestation, and absolutely execrated by their fellow-citizens. In vain may they now deplore with tears the effect of their conduct; the evils they have occasioned cannot be repaired; such tears and regrets can neither deceive nor affect any one, neither can they prevent their names being delivered down to posterity among those celebrated villains who have betrayed their country, and caused all its misfortunes.

CHAP. VII.

Provisional Government established in Malta. Conduct of the French in that Island. The Knights are ordered to depart. A general Press takes place for both Soldiers and Sailors. The Grand-Master leaves Malta; the Salary allowed him by the French; his Arrival at Trieste. Dispersion and Fate of the Knights. Paul I. elected to the Grand-Mastership. Creation of a Grand Russian Priory for the Members of the Greek Church. Insurrection of the Maltese; unjust Conduct of the French towards them. Scarcity of Money in the French Coffers. The Ornaments of a Church in the Old City taken away, and put up to Auction. This Event occasions the first Tumults.

NO sooner were the French become masters of Malta, than they established all the laws of the directory, and formed a municipality and a provisional government. The commander de Ransijat was appointed president of this new administration: under the command, however, of the commissary of the directory*; whom he servilely obeyed, and whose yoke was very different and much heavier to bear, than the one this perjured knight had so lately thrown off. Every thing in the public buildings which bore the stamp of nobility, or recalled to mind the celebrated exploits performed by illustrious chiefs,

* The name of this commissary was St. Jean d'Angeli. He had been member of the national assembly, and was a lawyer, handsomely paid by the order, to defend its cause in that meeting.

was broken and destroyed. These new Goths and Vandals likewise threw down with impious hands the busts of those heroes who had graced the annals of chivalry, and which were placed on different elevated spots. It will appear scarcely credible to posterity, that such ravages should take place in presence of an army which contained more than two hundred literati and artists; and whose principal object, according to all appearance, was to make (and that in the most solemn manner) a kind of honourable amends to the arts and sciences, by going into a country where they formerly flourished, and by endeavouring to draw forth from obscurity those precious monuments of antiquity which an ignorant and superstitious people had permitted to remain concealed from the public eye; and by these means they hoped to replace in their own country, what had been so wickedly and so barbarously destroyed. In a very few days, the arms of the order, together with those of the principal chiefs, were effaced not only in all the different inns, but in the palace of the grand-master, himself being present on the occasion. Such an outrage as this, was not even committed by the Musulmen at Rhodes; where honourable marks still remain of the residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem in that island.

One of the first acts of authority exercised by these invaders was, to issue out orders for all the knights to quit the island in the space of three days: a few days more were, however, allowed to the old and infirm; but the chevalier O'Hara

was commanded to depart in three hours, and the Portuguese knights in forty-eight.

The absolute impossibility of such a prompt departure made them relax a little, and a short delay was granted. The French knights obtained with the greatest difficulty the slender sum of two hundred and forty livres each (about ten pounds sterling), for the expences of the journey. They were forbidden to wear the cross, though the order was not abolished; and every one of the members was obliged to exhibit the tricolour cockade.

On the second day an act took place which bore upon a class of people who had been flattered with the idea of enjoying a degree of liberty and happiness to which they had hitherto been strangers. Orders for a general press were posted up in different parts; in consequence of which, the sailors belonging to the island, the grand-master's guards, and all the enrolled soldiers, were carried on board the French fleet. The most consolatory promises were, however, made to the wives and children of these unfortunate men; whose anguish was in some degree alleviated by these means. But a few weeks sufficed to prove that very little dependance could be placed on such promises; since the first intelligence they received from their families presented a heart-rending picture of their forlorn situation, and of the profound misery to which they were reduced.

The grand-master, in despair at the continual insults to



which he was exposed, resolved to quit a residence which was become absolutely insupportable: but the moment he made known his intentions, his creditors made a point of molesting and tormenting him.

It was in vain he claimed the plate belonging to his palace; the property of the different languages; and the jewels to which, in quality of grand-master, he had a particular right. No attention was paid to his demands: and they were equally deaf to those made by the ancients of the order who proposed accompanying him in his flight. Ransijat, together with the under-secretary of state Doublet (who had had the effrontery to sell the cypher made use of by the grand-master), announced in the name of the municipality, that a sum of money was intended to be given as an equivalent for the property annexed to the grand-mastership.

On the evening before Hompesch left Malta, Ransijat acquainted him with the arrangements made to facilitate his departure, and with the salary he was to receive. It was settled that he should embark on board a merchantman bound for Trieste, and that he should be escorted by a French frigate till he arrived at a certain point: it was also determined that he should carry away neither plate, jewels, nor archives; but that the French nation, in concert with the municipality, should indemnify him for the loss of this different property, by a sum of six hundred thousand French livres, and likewise secure him a pension of a hundred thousand crowns to be constantly

paid till he was put into possession for life of a principality of equal value.

Three hundred thousand livres out of the six hundred thousand were paid to his creditors ; and he received one hundred thousand of the remainder in specie, and the other two hundred thousand in four bills, for which he was obliged to sign a receipt. This cruel and humiliating interview was finished by the grand-master's requesting permission to take with him three precious articles, which had for a great length of time been consecrated in the church of St. John as objects of veneration, and adored by the faithful with the greatest devotion, viz :

A part of the real cross, brought from the Holy Land ; St. John's hand, presented by Bajazet to d'Aubusson ; and a miraculous image of the Holy Virgin of Philerme. These relicks were sent to Hompesch, after having been stripped of all their valuable ornaments.

The grand-master embarked in the night between the 17th and 18th of June, accompanied by his grand-chamberlain (the commander de Licondais), his aide-de-camp (the commander St. Priest), the secretary for Italian affairs (the commander Miari), ditto for Spain (chevalier Desbrull), his master of the horse (chevalier de Saulx), a page (monsieur de Roquefeuille), and two servants of arms (Le Normand and Becker). The other members of the order, who, though not of his household, accompanied him on this occasion, were the grand-com-

mander bailiff de Montauroux, the bailiff Suffrein de St. Tropez, the commander Aimable de Ligondais, the commander de Bordon, the chevalier de Reinech, and the chevalier d'Henneberg.

The French frigate quitted them off Meleda, and they did not land at Trieste till after a most tedious and disagreeable voyage of thirty-nine days. Their stay in this place could not possibly be long; since reasons of the most important nature prevented the principal members of the order from going thither, and from joining their chief. The same reasons likewise occasioned the grand-master's resignation of his office, and his separating himself from the companions of his flight. Comparisons may, perhaps, be made on this occasion, between L'Isle Adam and Hompesch, Solyman and Bonaparte; but I greatly fear the misfortunes and success of the latter, would be but too much eclipsed by the glorious conduct and conquests of the former.

Bonaparte set sail on the 19th of June; leaving a garrison of four thousand men, under the command of general Vaubois, in the different forts of Malta. Some of the knights enlisted under the French banners. I will not attempt to excuse their conduct on this occasion, and still less to condemn them as criminal. Pity is the only sentiment they inspire in my breast; yet I cannot help remarking, that no situation, however desperate, can ever justify the commission of a dishonourable action.

The rich ornaments in gold and silver taken from the churches and public edifices in Malta, were put on board the French fleet, together with the standards and trophies of the order. These treasures, however, did not long remain the property of such merciless spoilers; who, thus deprived of their ill-gotten wealth, had nothing left to console them for having stained their characters by acts of the most shameful injustice, and by the crime of sacrilege. The riches on board the *Orient* were consumed by the devouring flames on the memorable 1st of August in the famous action off Aboukir; and the treasures contained in the *Sensible* frigate fell, on the 19th of July, into the hands of those who, a very short time afterwards, might with the strictest justice be entitled the real conquerors of Malta.

Having thus made known the fate of these stolen treasures, we will now enter into some particulars relative to that of the knights.

Those traitors and cowards who gave themselves up to the directory, have already met their punishment; not only in the stings of their accusing consciences, but in the contempt of the whole world, together with even that of their perfidious enemies. Those who were dragged into Egypt in the suite of the French army, were overwhelmed by every species of persecution and calamity; whilst those who were called forth to appear before St. John d'Acre, were soon taught that neither bastions nor ramparts were necessary to stop the progress of a man who had boasted of having possessed himself

of the bulwark of Christianity in the space of three days: but here the powers of seduction had no effect; and the valour alone of a handful of men, supported by the presence of their courageous chief, was sufficient to confound vain presumption, and disconcert the plans of boundless ambition. Those knights who had taken a part in the new government established at Malta were shut up in different fortresses, and exposed to all the horrors of famine. They, indeed, escaped with the greatest difficulty from the rage of the Maltese, whom they had flattered themselves with the idea of governing, but who pursued them with the violence and hatred which traitors and villains never fail to inspire; and those who, from the articles of capitulation, hoped to return into their own country, and in the bosoms of their families to receive the only consolation left them in their misfortunes, were immediately stopped on arriving in the ports of France, and refused entrance:—this conduct, even from the confession of Ransijat himself, reduced them to a state of such extreme indigence, that several amongst them absolutely perished from want.

But what, in the midst of such changes and misfortunes, was the destiny of Dolomieu and Ransijat?—of the men who so eagerly wished to see Malta in the possession of the French, and who seemed assured of receiving every favour in their power to bestow?—The former, after having greatly suffered in his health in Egypt, and after having been confined for some time in a prison from whence he would have been led to

suffer an ignominious death * but for the joint interference of their Sicilian majesties and lord Nelson, was thought to be sufficiently rewarded by the French republic, which bestowed on him the professor's chair, that the applauses of his pupils might serve as a consolation for the revenue he lost by the suppression of his order. It was therefore to his talents alone, that he owed a scanty subsistence. As to the second, he found himself under the necessity of taking up the pen to reproach France, and that in a public manner, with the kind of horror he seemed to inspire in whatsoever place he presented himself. He likewise reproaches the inhabitants in general with avoiding his society, and his relations more particularly for their coolness towards him: he expresses his surprise at being told by a woman of much respectability, that if he wished to mix in the world, he must expect to meet with many disagreeable circumstances †. After this avowal made by himself, his future destiny may be easily imagined.

Those knights who had remained faithful to their duty, were scattered about in different parts of the globe, and were every-where received with the sentiments of approbation and commiseration which their conduct and misfortunes must naturally inspire.

The favours bestowed on the order by the emperor of Rus-

* The emperor of Russia, in his quality of grand-master, had demanded Dolomieu in order to commence an action against him.

† Advertisement, see page 6.

sia, and the title he had accepted, that of its protector, induced several of the knights to retire into his dominions, where their reception was more than equal to their most sanguine expectations. Intoxicated, if I may so express myself, with Paul's repeated benefactions, they conceived they might with propriety make choice of a prince for their sovereign, who had supported them in so generous and so powerful a manner. But though posterity is ever indulgent to those who in extraordinary circumstances have succeeded in saving a state, though by means equally extraordinary, it is also very severe in its censures on those who endeavour to justify their conduct by vilifying and calumniating that of others.

On the 29th of June the emperor of all the Russias took upon himself the title of grand-master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. His inauguration took place on the same day; and the knights at that time in Petersburg were admitted to a public audience, and presented him with the crown and regalia of the grand-mastership. The vice-chancellor pronounced the act of acceptance, and all the knights took the usual oaths on the occasion.

After this ceremony, Paul immediately created a new Russian priory for the benefit of the nobles in his dominions who followed the rites of the Greek church. He also made statutes and rules, which differed but in a very slight degree from those of the Catholic Russian priory. An annual revenue of two hundred and sixteen thousand roubles was annexed to this new esta-

blishment; which was to be divided, as follows, into ninety-eight commanderies :

2	Commanderies of 6000 roubles.
4	Ditto 4000
6	Ditto 3000
10	Ditto 2000
16	Ditto 1500
60	Ditto 1000

The remaining part of the two hundred and sixteen thousand roubles was to be employed for the necessary expences of the order.

On the 1st of January, 1799, the standard of the order of St. John of Jerusalem was hoisted, for a permanence, on the angle of the bastions of the Admiralty at Petersburg, and saluted by the firing of thirty-three cannons.

All the Russian ministers in the different courts received orders to notify the emperor's election to the grand-mastership; and to issue out a proclamation to engage all the priories of the order to enter into his views, and to form one single corps. He likewise invited all the nobles in Christendom who were able to produce the requisite proofs, to enter into this new order of Malta, and assured them of his particular protection.

Nothing now remained for Paul but to possess himself of the chief place of residence of the order; he therefore employed

himself in the means of succeeding in his wishes. His allies, the English, reigned triumphantly in the Mediterranean, and entirely blockaded Malta: but the small number of their land forces prevented their making any attempts against the city and the forts; in consequence of which, Paul determined to send them the most powerful assistance. Prince Wolkonski received orders to embark with a considerable body of men, which were intended to co-operate with the English and Neapolitans in the recapture of Malta, and in forcing the garrison to make peace. This plan, however, was never carried into execution; and by a whimsical circumstance, truly worthy the uncertain politics of the eighteenth century, the very same troops thus prepared to serve as auxiliaries to the English in the Mediterranean, were shortly to hold themselves in readiness to march in order to attack the possessions of that nation in India!

The possession of Malta by the French was an object of too great importance for the English and their allies not to use every possible effort either to retake that island, or at least to prevent their enemies receiving any benefit from its remaining in their power. The Maltese, when once left to themselves, after the departure of Bonaparte, soon perceived the dreadful exchange they had made, and felt their hatred encrease for their new masters in proportion to the love they formerly bore their ancient sovereign. Indeed, they had scarcely groaned under the republican yoke more than three months, before the

inhabitants of the country rebelled against the French, and those of the cities were only kept quiet by the force of arms. The sufferings of these unfortunate people in so short a space of time, and the manner in which they were treated by the French, scarcely appear credible; and I should be fearful of mentioning them, lest the reader should suspect me of partiality or exaggeration, were they not described by Ransijat, president of the French government in Malta, precisely in the same manner. I shall indeed make no change in the author's relation, nor even any reflections on what passed, though the different circumstances give frequent occasion so to do.

1st. Though the French, owing to the prompt surrender of Malta, were but a very few days spread about the country, it is nevertheless a fact, that they committed great outrages, and that the inhabitants had recourse to the commission for the government in order to be indemnified for their losses. The only reply they received (owing, indeed, to the want of means for answering such demands) was, *that the consideration of these matters did not belong to them*. The same answer was also made to the different people who had received express orders to furnish the army with oxen, sheep, hogs, and other articles of provision.

2d. Bonaparte having carried away numbers of Maltese soldiers and sailors, their wives were promised a certain sum every month during their absence: but, owing either to some error in the notes taken on this occasion, or to some other

cause, when they arrived at the expiration of the appointed time to receive their money, they never could obtain it; and, though they came almost every day out of the country to repeat their request, they were constantly sent from one office to another, but without effect:—they therefore returned extremely discontented to their villages or casals.

3d. The funds appointed for the use of the navy being not thought sufficient to support it as formerly, a great many sailors were dismissed; and those who remained not receiving the pay they had been promised, quitted the service, and returned very much offended to their different casals.

4th. The retreat of these sailors reduced those on board the *Dégo* man-of-war and the *Carthaginoise* frigate to a very small number; and, as these vessels were to be sent out of the port in order to protect the Maltese trade from some English frigates then cruising in the canal of Malta, it was thought advisable to complete the crews by employing the very vagabonds who had committed such disorders throughout the country, and they were accordingly taken up for that purpose by order of the municipalities. But this banditti found means to return to their villages, and, notwithstanding every precaution taken to prevent them, continued plundering the country more than ever. They even threatened to revenge themselves on the municipal officers, who were continually applying to the commission for the government to put a stop to such grievances. But this was not easy to effect; and though the greatest attention was paid to

an object of such importance, the plan formed to prevent these disorders was not ready to be put in execution when the revolt took place, to which the disorganisation of the navy greatly contributed.

5th. All the Maltese who had capitals placed in the treasury formerly belonging to the order, came themselves, after the French entered the island, to receive their interest: but they were *put off to another time*; as were indeed all those who presented drafts and bonds for different pieces of work, or for articles furnished for the use of the said order, together with every person who had demands of whatsoever nature on the former government.

6th. All pensions granted to those who had either retired from the service, or quitted their civil employments, were *provisionally* suspended; and it was but a very short time before the revolt, that those persons who were arrived at the advanced age of eighty years, received the pay of one month only, as an indemnification for the whole of their pensions. Four hundred loaves, which were daily given to as many poor women by the old government, together with corn and money frequently distributed among the indigent, were likewise suspended.

7th. By a new regulation, which took place in the *Mont de Piété**, the interest, formerly fixed at $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent, was for the future to be at 6 per cent; and all pledges, given for sums

* A public pawnbrokery.

exceeding forty Maltese crowns, ordered to be sold, if the interest due was not paid in the course of eight days. This occasioned great complaints; for, added to the encrease of interest, the people had misinterpreted the last article in the regulation, and believed that all pledges which were not redeemed at the above-mentioned time were to be sold.

8th. All copyholds, which had formerly been held for three generations, were now to last only one hundred years: by which means a great number were terminated immediately on the making this regulation; whereas, had the original contracts remained in force, none of the present copyholders could have lived to see the expiration of their leases. Consequently several families in the country, and particularly in Goza, were extremely interested in this new law, which caused the most violent discontent. It is indeed true, that a short time after its publication they determined to modify it in some degree, by making another, which allowed these copyholds to be held for twenty-five and even for a hundred years longer. But this indulgence was subject to new conditions, which consisted only in paying the four-fifths of their value, and that to be estimated by people skilled in such affairs; consequently those who held these leases gained one-fifth part. But the impression made by the first law was so strong, that very little attention was paid to the second; which, indeed, was only made public the night before the insurrection. The only motive for the above alteration was to encrease the revenues of

the national demesnes, in order to provide for the expences of the new government.

9th. Malta being evacuated by the grand-master and the knights, was an immense loss to the inhabitants : for the former owed them about a million of French livres ; and almost all the French knights, who made the majority of the six hundred resident in the island, together with the greater part of those of other nations, were very considerably in debt. This event may also be said, with truth, to have deprived the numerous families which subsisted entirely by the favours and employments bestowed on them by the old government, of the means of existence. It certainly was the most dreadful blow the Maltese could possibly receive, and the greater number were entirely ruined.

10th. The officers being quartered in the different houses, very much offended the inhabitants, who regarded this innovation as a great hardship ; particularly, as the manners of the country gave them great apprehensions for their wives and daughters, by their being thus obliged, against their will, to permit foreigners to lodge under their roof. They, however, had *not much* reason to complain on this occasion, the *greater part* of the officers having conducted themselves extremely well ; so much so, indeed, that the inhabitants appeared really attached to them. But the tax proposed to be laid on to supply the expence of the soldiers' barracks, renewed their discontent ; which manifested itself very forcibly in the towns, and

still more in the country, which was likewise included in this new contribution. The Maltese, being ignorant of the customs of other nations in this particular, considered this tax as a very unjust one ; and having misinterpreted the sense of the capitulation, imagined it a violation of the said capitulation, which exempted them from all fresh impositions.

11th. From the moment Malta fell into the hands of the French, Sicily obliged all its vessels to perform quarantine ; and would no longer permit the *speronaras* and other Maltese vessels, which went as usual to fetch provisions, to enter their different ports. A short time afterwards, the appearance of some English frigates in the canal of Malta prevented the merchantmen from sailing out of the port ; and many of them being laden with cotton, bound for Spain, the trade of that article was entirely stopped, which contributed not a little to the universal poverty ; since the women were left without means of gaining a livelihood, the greatest part of them having no other employment than that of spinning cotton. The Maltese, who are equally ignorant and superstitious, were likewise extremely offended at changes being made which affected in some degree their religion and former mode of worship.—

In the first place, the plate belonging to the cathedral in the Old City was taken away to be converted into money, in order to pay the soldiers who served in the garrison ; but this step afflicted the Maltese most sensibly, particularly as they

expected the churches throughout the island would be stripped in the same manner.

Secondly—The whole of the convents being incorporated into one, many churches were shut up, in consequence of this prudent union.

Thirdly—The new forms adopted in France relative to births and marriages, which were intended to be introduced in Malta, produced a very bad effect on the minds of the people.

All these acts of injustice and oppression, together with such frequent breaches of public faith as were sufficient to induce the most submissive and obedient people to rebel, seemed to be regarded as matters of no importance by the new administration; for he who acted at the head of it, and who has given such an exact account of all that passed, appears not only astonished at the insurrection, but coldly adds, *there was no reason to expect it*:—as if it were possible for any government whatsoever to act more culpably towards its subjects. Where, indeed, can an instance be found of a people whose cattle and other articles of provision have been seized upon without payment, and their houses robbed and destroyed; whose soldiers and sailors have been enlisted by force, and whose wives and children have had their promised salaries discontinued? For my part, I know not the country where the pensions granted to old age, and as a reward for distinguished

merit, have been taken off;—where the creditors of the public treasury have been paid only by words, *and put off to another time*;—where the poor and miserable have been deprived of the bread and alms which were daily distributed among them;—where effects and money placed in *Monts de Piété* have been sold;—where bonds and contracts have been annulled;—where trade and industry have been entirely destroyed;—where the churches have been stripped of their riches, the mode of worship altered, and the religious institutions changed. Where, let me repeat, can a people be found who could patiently support such tyranny and profanation of all they hold most sacred? Is it then possible to regard and treat as rebels those who revolt against such cruel oppressors, who wantonly and boldly violate their oaths and break through their treaties, even at the very moment when they swear to observe them exactly?

I will, however, hope, for the honour of the French army, that Ransijat has exaggerated in his account of its conduct; and I must also believe, for the glory of their commander in chief, that he could not possibly have had so little foresight as he is accused of by the above-mentioned knight.

The French army having taken away all the money which could by any means be amassed together, left the treasury entirely empty; and as none arrived from France, every method to procure a supply was successively employed. Consequently, those which the agents of the directory had put in practice with equal cruelty and success in all the countries through

which they passed—without the smallest consideration whether or not they were friendly or inimical to their cause, submissive to their will, or conquered by the force of their arms—were now made use of in Malta; where the most richly ornamented churches were first shut up, and all the valuables they contained instantly declared national property and immediately ordered to be sold.

One of the churches in the Old City was among the number; but when the tapestry and other rich articles were on the point of being put up to auction, the sale was stopped by the threats of the inhabitants of this ancient capital of the island, who assembled in crowds to prevent so hateful an action. This disturbance, however, lasted but a few hours, and seemed to be appeased. The French commandant, Masson, wrote to general Vaubois on the occasion; but his letter not arriving before seven in the evening, it was impossible any reinforcement could be sent before the following morning,—and it was then too late to save him: for the inhabitants of the *casal Zebug* having joined those of the Old City in the afternoon, fresh tumults took place; and the commandant, together with sixty soldiers who composed the garrison, fell victims to the fury of the mob, which immediately proceeded to *casal Zebug*, and put to death the president of the municipality lately established in that place. The insurgents afterwards were dispersed in all the different *casals*; and the insurrection gained ground so surprisingly, that in twenty-

four hours the whole of the country, together with the island of Goza, were up in arms against the French.

General Vaubois, having received Masson's letter, and being little acquainted with what had passed during the course of the day, sent off a detachment of two hundred men early the next morning in order to reinforce the garrison in the Old City. But when these troops arrived near La Valetta, they were assailed on all sides with such violence, that they were obliged to turn back as fast as possible; having had one man killed and three wounded, amongst whom was an officer.

The three officers of the Maltese chasseurs who had sallied forth at the same time as the two hundred men, in order to assemble their dispersed soldiers throughout the country, were slain the same day; together with the chevalier Bordon, Varanges, and some citizens who were zealous partisans of the French, and who were endeavouring to make good their retreat into the city.

The insurrection in the country had reached as far as Burmola, and broke forth in the eastern part of that place. Several peasants from casal Zabbar and other villages had contrived to enter, and induced the people to rise. An action began which it was impossible to sustain for any length of time, and they were forced to retreat; many French officers and soldiers lost their lives, and two Maltese taken sword in hand were shot in cold blood. This barbarous action had not the desired effect; and, far from intimidating these islanders, it only

increased, if possible, their hatred for the French, whom they now regarded as savage tyrants.

All communication ceased from that moment between the city and the country. The beginning of the blockade and siege of Malta may indeed be dated from the same epoch; and I will endeavour to relate some of the most interesting events which took place on that occasion. Very few brilliant military exploits will appear in this account: which will only serve to shew to what lengths bravery and resignation were carried on one side in defending a place, and in suffering every possible inconvenience and privation; whilst on the other an equal skill and perseverance appeared in continuing the attack, and maintaining their posts in all seasons, and during the whole time of the blockade of a city which was entirely open towards the sea.

C H A P. VIII.

Malta entirely blocked up by Land and by Sea. A Plan for seizing on the Store-houses for Corn at Girgenti, given to the French. Vain Attempts to bring back the Inhabitants of the Country to their former Sentiments. The French make an unsuccessful Sally. The Knights not allowed to land in the Island. Admiral Nelson summons the Place to surrender. Scarcity of Wood. A second Sally, equally unsuccessful as the first. The Inhabitants of the City put into Requisition. Sale of all Effects placed in the Mont de Piété. An Insurrection intended to take place in the City discovered. Several Priests unjustly imprisoned. Churches shut up, and the Ringing of Bells forbidden. The English take the Maltese under their immediate Protection. Three Maltese sent to demand a Parley apprehended. Situation of the City La Valette, after the first six Months of the Blockade. Price of Provisions. Mortality in the Hospitals.

FIVE days before the insurrection took place in the country, the *Guillaume Tell* man-of-war, with the *Diane* and *Justice* frigates, entered the port, with intelligence that the whole of the fleet bound to Egypt was destroyed. General Vaubois immediately apprehended that the English fleet would intercept all vessels bound to Malta: he therefore determined to examine with the greatest attention the state of the corn in the different store-houses; and found they contained thirty-six thousand salmes, which appeared sufficient to supply the whole of the island during seven months.

Ransijat advised the French general to fit out all the men-of-war in the port, and proceed immediately to Sicily, in order to seize upon the storehouses of Girgenti, which contained from forty to fifty thousand salmes of corn; and at the same time to take possession of those at Vittoria, where there was a very considerable quantity of wine. This proposal was however rejected; and, to say the truth, such an expedition would have been an absolute violation of the law of nations, since France was at that time at peace with the kingdom of Naples. Besides, had this squadron been taken by the English, the troops remaining at Malta would have been trifling indeed. These consisted at first in four thousand men; but had afterwards been augmented to five thousand, the crews belonging to the vessels which escaped from Aboukir having been incorporated amongst them. The whole of these forces was, however, very insufficient for the defence of all the different stations in the island.

Through the defection of the inhabitants of the country, the city was left with sufficient provisions for sixteen or seventeen months: the French forces were likewise enabled to concentrate themselves in the different forts. The insurrection therefore, considered in that point of view, was rather a favourable circumstance; notwithstanding which, the greatest possible pains were taken to induce the peasants to return to their former sentiments. A deputation was sent, with the assurance of a general pardon; but the persons dispatched on this occasion never came back. An attempt of the same nature was made

a second time, which proved equally unsuccessful. Such proceedings on the part of the insurgents, sufficiently proved that no hopes of conciliation remained.

The next day after the second deputation, a Portuguese squadron, composed of four men-of-war of different rates, appeared before the port; which in a few days more was joined by an English fleet of fourteen sail. The admirals of these different squadrons instantly dispatched a messenger to the city, to desire a parley; and to deliver two letters, the one signed by themselves, and the other by Emanuel Vitale, and Xavier Caravana canon of the Old City;—the purport of which was, to demand that the place should immediately be evacuated, and restored to the Maltese. The answer they received was such as might naturally be expected from people who were decided on defending themselves to the very last extremity; and it must be owned, they were in this particular perfectly faithful to their engagements.

The French became extremely irritated and impatient at being thus closely shut up in the fortifications, and by that means deprived of the fresh provisions which abounded in the country. They therefore planned a sally; which would not only supply them with the above-mentioned articles, but at the same time enable them to revenge the death of their comrades slain in the old city. Their project was to attack the *casal Zabbar*, “to lay it waste, and carry off all the “provisions and other useful articles they could possibly

“ find *.” The Maltese, however, defended themselves so obstinately, that the besiegers were forced to retreat very quickly into the city: they likewise met with the same courageous resistance near fort Tigné, where they made a false attack.

This expedition (which, indeed, was undertaken rather against the opinion of general Vaubois) having failed of success, convinced the French, not only that it would be imprudent to risk a second, but even extremely difficult with such a slender force to maintain their post in the immense fortifications they were obliged to defend.

The Portuguese admiral, being left alone before Malta, summoned the place a second time to surrender, threatening to bombard it in case of refusal. The inhabitants till this moment had not shewn any inclination to quit their dwellings, though they were at perfect liberty so to have done; but, alarmed beyond expression at the idea of a bombardment, they entreated in crowds to be permitted to leave the city. The request of all those who were not extremely rich, was immediately complied with. The French had already sent away twelve hundred from Burmola, and four hundred from the city Valetta, and all the well-disposed Maltese had dispatched messengers to Hompesch to prevail on him to return, once more among them;

* Ransijat makes use of these words, and accuses the French army of carrying on the war in a manner worthy only of savages and barbarians. Indeed, the latter, when they have once possessed themselves of the provisions of a country, seldom extend their cruelty so far as to ransack the dwellings of the conquered.

but as he found it impossible to grant their request immediately, he gave orders for the bailiff de Neveu, with some other knights and Maltese, to embark directly for Malta. During their voyage they were informed that they had better not attempt a landing; they therefore relinquished their design. Other knights of different nations offered to come to the assistance of the besiegers, and to make use of every effort in their power once more to recover the chief place of residence of the order; but they all received the same prohibition, and were ordered not to approach the island.

This conduct of the Maltese towards the knights, was generally disapproved by all those who did not consider that in political affairs no attention is ever paid either to the rights of man, or to those of sovereigns.

On the arrival of admiral Nelson, the French received another summons to surrender; with an offer at the same time of sending back the whole garrison to France, without considering any part of it as prisoners of war, on condition that the city, together with all the men-of war in the port, should be given up to the English. The answer of general Vaubois on this occasion was extremely laconic, and contained a positive refusal.

The besiegers had attempted to raise a battery on the heights of Coradin, but the constant firing from the city prevented this work being carried on; they had, however, contrived to raise another with three cannons in a place

called Samra or Lattochia, which never ceased firing, and which a cannonade of five hours in vain endeavoured to destroy.

The island of Goza having surrendered, a commissioner was dispatched to general Vaubois to inform him of the event, and at the same time to acquaint him that the emperor and the king of Naples had declared war against France: the same commissioner likewise told him, that on the following day a Greek vessel was to be burned within sight of the port, for having refused on going out of the harbour to surrender when summoned so to do by the English men-of-war.

The city was so closely blockaded, that the French were absolutely ignorant of all that passed either in the interior of the island or on the continent. Three small boats from Sardinia, and an advice-boat from Toulon, were all the vessels which had reached them during the space of three months; and these brought neither dispatches nor public papers. The English had very obligingly sent the French officers four of their wives who had been taken prisoners on board a small vessel from Corsica. These ladies spoke in the highest terms of the manner in which they had been treated by the Maltese, whilst the French cruelly ordered all the prisoners taken of that nation to be shot; and having remained six days in the Old City, they gave the garrison some intelligence relative to the principal insurgents, whose names were not even known with any degree of certainty.

The French beginning to suffer from the want of wood, and knowing there was a great quantity constantly kept in reserve in the great basin, determined to take some measures to possess themselves of it. They therefore agreed to make a sally on the Coradin side: which, however, proved equally unsuccessful with their attempt on *casal Zabber*; and they were obliged to make good their retreat after a sharp discharge of musketry and artillery, four hundred bombs and balls being fired on the occasion. The Maltese, whom they had ever called and treated as *wretched peasants*, proved themselves worthy of the praises of their very enemies, who could not possibly refuse doing justice to their undaunted courage.

The English, in the beginning of December, again summoned a surrender, again threatened a general bombardment, and again received a laconic refusal. They therefore, on the following evening at half past ten, took advantage of an extremely dark night, and unmasked some fresh batteries towards fort Manual, from whence, and likewise from those before erected, they fired on the city with great perseverance till midnight. The people believed the bombardment commenced, the consternation became general; and what greatly contributed to encrease it, was some balls having entered the city Valette, which had never happened before: and though no one was hurt, the inhabitants imagined themselves no longer safe, and entreated permission to depart. General Vaubois felt much disinclined to let people of fortune quit the city: as to the rest, he did not object to their departure; from which he

thought he should reap no small advantage, since it would greatly diminish the consumption of provisions, which began to decrease considerably. The presence likewise of these male-contents might have been dangerous in case of an assault, when the whole force of the garrison would be necessary to repel the enemy. Besides, by sending these people out of the city, the number of besiegers would be encreased ; and as he knew there was a great scarcity of provisions throughout the island, so great an addition would inevitably cause a famine in a much shorter time than would otherwise have been the case.

The French, after having exacted heavy contributions from the inhabitants, put them into requisition for all the necessary articles for clothing the troops. These different methods proving insufficient, one still more odious was adopted. The administration, at the request of the French, ordered all the effects placed in the Mont de Piété to be sold, excepting, indeed, those which belonged to the Maltese families who embarked with Bonaparte ; and even these were spared at first more from the trifling value of articles pledged by sailors and soldiers, than from any idea of justice, or sentiment of respect for the sacred rights of private property.

Money to pay the troops was not all that was wanting in the present exigence, since it was likewise necessary that those employed under government should receive their salaries ; all the gold, silver, and jewels, both in the Mont de Piété and the different churches, were therefore successively seized upon, in order to supply such enormous expences.

The blockade, indeed, had not commenced quite four months when they were forced to have recourse to all the above expedients ; and the inhabitants of the city already began to inspire the greatest pity, “their countenances, indeed, bore marks “of the misery to which they were exposed *.” And so heart-rending was the spectacle of their distress, that it even seemed for a moment to affect the most zealous partisans of the revolution, who shewed some signs of repentance for having been the authors of such accumulated misfortunes. But this first emotion of sensibility was presently stifled, and they not only reproached themselves with having indulged such feelings, but “used all their endeavours to banish every sentiment of compassion from their bosoms.” They therefore approved and applauded all the different operations of the French, and tortured their imaginations to suggest to them all the various methods of extortion which might tend to prolong the holding-out of the place, and consequently encrease the misery and despair of those who unfortunately were shut up in it.

The Maltese resident in the country took advantage of the dreadful situation of the inhabitants of the city, to form a plan which was kept secret with the greatest care, and which was only discovered on the day fixed for its execution, and that by a very extraordinary circumstance.

A small Genoese vessel brought intelligence of the king

* See Ransijat, page 23.

of Sardinia's having been forced to abdicate his crown, and of the brilliant success of the French army in Italy. There were great rejoicings throughout the city on this occasion; and the theatre, which was usually shut up on Fridays, was opened that evening. Boulard, commandant of fort Manuel, and Roussel, an officer under his command, had received permission to go to the play. On returning at night to their quarters, they passed port Marsa-Musceit, where they perceived some men who appeared to make signs for them to approach; they were, however, at too great a distance for their answer to be heard, and their being at that hour on the sea-shore close under the walls of the city was too suspicious a circumstance for the officers to accept the invitation. Commandant Boulard, on returning to Fort Manual, thought it his duty to dispatch Roussel to reconnoître. He accordingly embarked on board a very small boat; so small, indeed, that it would not admit of his taking with him more than seven men. On approaching the shore, they perceived a great number of men, some of whom betook themselves to flight, whilst others threw themselves into the sea, and the ditches of the city: they, however, succeeded in taking some of them, and a general alarm being given, thirty-four were apprehended.

This enterprise had been formed with more than usual secrecy, and no one had the smallest suspicion of what was going forwards. Gulielmo, a native of Corsica, aged sixty-four, was at the head of the affair. He had resided in Malta from

his earliest youth, had been constantly employed in cruising, and had taken several rich prizes; so great, indeed, was his reputation in the sea service, that it had not only procured him the command of some Russian vessels in the Mediterranean, but the rank of colonel in the navy of that power. He was in the country when the insurrection first took place, but refused to join the insurgents. Whether his conduct proceeded from an idea that they were not sufficiently in force, or whether he thought he might be more useful to the cause by remaining shut up in the city, no one can possibly determine.

After his condemnation he confessed, that his plan was to stab the centinel and the corps-de-guard, who appeared to perform their duty in a very negligent manner; to have attacked in person, and at an early hour, the palace belonging to the grand-mastership, where the French general and his staff-officers resided, and to have seized on all the different posts in the city. Peralta, who had been an officer in the chasseurs, was to have taken possession of that called the Marine. That which was formerly termed Royal (but now named National) was to have been occupied by Damato, late serjeant in the Maltese regiment; and that at Marsa-Musceit by Palis, a perfumer at the office of health. Other persons were destined to attack fort St. Elmo, and the Castille Inn, which commands one of the cavaliers, situated very near that spot. This place once taken, it was proposed to make signals to the insurgents of all that passed in the city.

A sword-cutler named Satarivo was to provide poinards and sabres, and others were to procure cartridges. The former, having revealed many very important circumstances, received a pardon ; whilst the commission established to try those who were accused of seconding the enterprise condemned forty-three persons, all of whom were shot. Eleven of the number were inhabitants of the city. Three hundred of the galley-slaves, too, had been gained over ; and there is not the smallest doubt but that most of the inhabitants would have joined in the insurrection, the consequence of which cannot easily be imagined. The event, however, would most probably have been dreadful ; for the moment the insurgents in the country had perceived any commotions in the city, they would have made a general attack in different parts, scaling ladders having been prepared for the purpose. Two hundred of them crouched in the surrounding ditches, with others secreted in the store-houses of the navy, where they had remained twenty-four hours, waited the signal for the onset. The French were too few in number to make defence at all the different points, and the smallest advantage gained by their numerous enemies must inevitably have caused their destruction.

The greatest part of those condemned to be shot were of the lowest ranks of the people, and not one of them accused a single noble or Maltese baron of having favoured their design. This sufficiently proves how greatly they must have been exasperated, and to what a miserable condition they were

reduced. Indeed, their only motive for rebelling against their ancient sovereigns, had been the hopes of enjoying a large share of happiness from the total change they expected would take place in their situation. As to the nobles and barons, who had great reason to reproach themselves for the part they had taken in the revolution, they were plunged into the deepest despair, without daring to make known their sentiments ; but they one and all bore an inward and implacable hatred towards the French, from the moment the latter had forced them to burn their titles of nobility, to which they had the greatest attachment.

Though the priests appeared to have had very little share in the insurrection against the French, the latter still regarded them as their most dangerous enemies ; for well they knew the great influence they had over the minds of a devout people, whose mode of worship they had endeavoured to make appear ridiculous and contemptible, though they could not succeed in corrupting the purity of their morals. Two novices of the order of Jacobins who did duty in two different parishes were most unjustly accused, apprehended, their churches shut up, and themselves imprisoned a fortnight in the castle St. Elmo ; but at the expiration of that term, their innocence was so clearly proved, that they were set at liberty. The day they quitted their prison they were met by crowds of people, who, kissing their hands, congratulated them on their deliverance, and eagerly flew to bring away their effects from the place of their confinement. In short, so great were the transports of joy manifested on this

occasion, that the French were perfectly convinced of the wonderful fanaticism of the Maltese; consequently, how necessary it was for the preservation of public peace to wink at their prejudices, and to spare their feelings in this particular*.

But, notwithstanding this conviction, the president of the government gave an order for several of the churches to be shut up; by this means preventing the faithful from the free exercise of their religion. They likewise sent off the ministers, in whom the people placed an unlimited confidence, and forbade the ringing of bells, on pretence that they were to have served as signals for the insurrection.

The insurgents were not long ignorant of the execution of their partisans in the city; but as there were several others still remaining who were firmly attached to their cause, they determined on risking an assault. They therefore advanced with their ladders even to the bottom of the ramparts; but disputes arising among themselves, a general confusion took place, and they retreated precipitately, leaving some of their companions dead on the spot.

The besiegers were so ill provided with ammunition, that they raised very few batteries in the beginning, and those but very inconsiderable ones. When, however, they were joined by the English and Neapolitans, who furnished them with mortars and a great provision of powder, they erected others of

* *Rassias*, page 61.

much greater importance, which were principally directed against the grand port, in order either to destroy the men-of-war riding in the harbour, or to prevent other vessels from entering it. But, notwithstanding these works, and the vigilance of the squadron which constantly kept at sea, some small vessels contrived to slip into the port.

The French placed their shipping out of the reach of cannon-shot, and masked them in such a manner that they had no further cause of apprehension from the effects of the bombs.

The English, to encourage the Maltese, and to attach them more firmly to their interest, took them under their immediate protection, and sent a commissioner to the French to inform them of their conduct. In twenty-two days afterwards an Englishman, accompanied by three Maltese, went in the same capacity to the Floriana, and presented a letter from one of the officers who commanded the land forces to general Vaubois, to acquaint him, that all vessels going out of the port laden with effects belonging to the Maltese, would be immediately visited, every article seized, and restored to the right owners.

General Vaubois retained the three Maltese as prisoners, and sent back the Englishman with a letter to commodore Ball, expressing his surprise that a commissioner should be sent from a land officer, whose right of addressing him on such occasions he absolutely denied. Commodore Ball frequently

demand the Maltese; but they were never sent back till the following year, when their deliverance was owing to the English having returned a prisoner named Mary, the wife of an officer in the garrison, who was taken on board *Le Généreux*, and who was sent back in the politest manner the very moment she was demanded by the French.

The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their allies, planned an assault on the Cotoner, the fortifications of which extended so far, that it was not judged easy to secure it from a sudden attack; but the troops being levied in a mass, and not holding well together, all their attempts on that side proved abortive.

The French paid the strictest attention to the fortifications, and reduced them into a smaller compass, keeping only two bastions, so situated as to be safe from all attacks, and at the same time securing themselves a retreat into the second enclosure of the Cotoner, in case of a reverse of fortune. These works were carried on with the greatest activity, and every body obliged to assist on the occasion; even the priests were not exempted, which extremely scandalised the inhabitants: it was indeed some time before they could obtain permission to quit their employment. This was also the case with the richest people in the city, who, however, were afterwards allowed to send others to replace them.

Though the blockade had only lasted six months, the sufferings of the people were incredible; and were I to relate the

miseries they endured, together with the destitute situation to which the garrison was reduced in so short a space of time, I should most possibly be accused of exaggeration. The numberless requisitions which had taken place, and all upon credit, had robbed the inhabitants of their furniture, and even of their beds, to supply the wants of the troops. They had likewise stripped the merchants, not only of the provisions in their storehouses, but of cotton, ropes, leather, different kinds of stuff, and every article they could possibly find. They did not even spare the poorest little shopkeepers, who were equally subject to contributions. These forced loans had entirely drained the purses of all the inhabitants: which, joined to no interest being paid for funds placed in the university, *Mont de Piété*, and the treasury of the order; to the scarcity of all provisions, except corn and oil (every imported article being reserved for the use of the garrison); and to the frequent denunciations and suspicions which disturbed the peace of mind of the most respectable families in the island, will give some faint idea of the miserable situation of the unfortunate Maltese, whose fate depended on that of the French.

The whole of the wood in the storehouses and basins being consumed, and the troops, nay the bakers, being in want of that article, but one resource was left, which was, to break up all the old trading vessels which were judged in the least fit for service; and this they did without attending, in the smallest degree, to the complaints of the different proprietors. The

consumption of wood was indeed very considerable, amounting to about five thousand quintals a-month, and that merely for the use of the troops and the bakers.

Provisions* continued till the month of March at the following exorbitant prices :

	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>sous.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Fresh pork. . .	3	8	or	2	10	per pound.
Cheese . . .	3	0	—	2	6	
A rabbit . . .	7	4	—	6	2	
A fowl . . .	29	0	—	24	10	
A pigeon . . .	6	0	—	5	0	
A bottle of wine	3	0	—	2	6	
An egg . . .	0	8	—	0	4	

The difficulty of procuring them, even at so great an expence, gave cause to apprehend the most dreadful consequences. The number of sick encreased every day; and though it cannot be said they literally died of hunger, yet they certainly were in want not only of proper food for people in their situations, but of every comfort necessary for the restoration and preservation of their health. The French had not always, as formerly, the power of permitting the inhabitants to quit the city, the besiegers frequently refused receiving those for whom the gates were thrown open, and these unfortunate people

* Before the blockade, the common price of meat was three pence a-pound; a fowl six pence; and wine from two to three pence a bottle.

had no resource but to return to their dwellings, there to perish from want, in despair.

The mortality among the soldiers encreased in an extraordinary manner, and caused the utmost alarm ; particularly as it was natural to suppose the heats of summer would still more encrease it, none of the sick being as yet enured to the climate. The military hospital contained more than six hundred soldiers, the greatest part of whom suffered from the scurvy. This disorder made the most fatal progress ; for in the month of March thirty-seven died, forty in April, and ninety-eight in May.

General Vaubois was perfectly aware of the great necessity of using every possible method to preserve the soldiers ; for even supposing them all in perfect health, there were scarcely sufficient to perform the daily duty in the city. He therefore visited the hospitals himself, reformed different abuses which had crept into them, attended particularly to the bakehouses, and examined the bread intended for the soldiers. The sick received much benefit from a liquor made with malt ; and happily there was a sufficient quantity of that article to enable them to drink abundantly.

There being a scarcity of many of the usual ingredients employed in coining money, general Vaubois resolved on melting down all the plate taken from the churches and *Mont de Piété*, casting it into ingots, and coining it into money. The largest pieces were to be worth twenty louis, or

twenty pounds sterling ; and the smaller six livres, or five shillings English. A sufficient quantity was intended to be coined to pay the troops for thirteen months : but the spoils of the above-mentioned places were not nearly sufficient for this purpose. They therefore endeavoured to levy new taxes, which were to commence in the month of June, and amount to three hundred thousand French livres. But the difficulty was, in what manner to raise them, and how to divide them among the inhabitants ; for the few rich people who had remained in the island were now become poor, those of small fortune were reduced to absolute indigence, and no one could procure credit.

CHAP. IX.

Enumeration of Vessels which entered the Port of Malta in the first Year of the Blockade. Provisions they contained. Number of Soldiers and Inhabitants who died from September, 1798, to September, 1799. Price of Provisions in September, 1799. The Garrison reduced to Half-pay. The Salaries of different Members of the Administration suspended. The French Soldiers make Kitchen-Gardens in different Places. Capture of Transports with their Convoy. Stoppage of the Soldiers' Pay. The Officers receive a mere Trifle for their Subsistence. General Vaubois has an Interview with the Portuguese Admiral. Departure and Capture of the Guillaume Tell. The Ration of Bread diminished. Wine, Brandy, and Vinegar, likewise curtailed. The Houses in La Valetta visited by Order of Government, and an Enumeration taken of the Inhabitants, who take the Oath of Allegiance to the new Consular Constitution. Price of Provisions at that Time. Table of Deaths from September, 1799, to September, 1800. Departure and Capture of two Frigates. Capitulation and Surrender of Malta.

DURING the first year of the blockade of Malta, fifteen vessels, laden with stores and provisions, entered the port; amongst which were three small ones from Sardinia, the *Bondeuse* frigate, an advice-boat with only ten casks of brandy, together with two neutral vessels driven in by stress of weather, the one Imperial, and the other from Ragusa. The whole contained 19,166 salmes of corn, which, with the 36,382 already mentioned in the storehouses of the city Valetta at the commencement of the siege, made altogether 55,548. This quantity was almost

equal to the annual consumption of the two islands of Malta and Goza, which, before the year 1798, generally amounted to 56,581 salmes of corn.

The defection of the inhabitants of the country, joined to the successive emigration of those of the city, had so greatly diminished the usual consumption, that from seventeen to eighteen thousand salmes, still remaining in the storehouse, were judged in September, 1799, to be sufficient for a whole twelvemonth. This calculation was made from the grain distributed in the course of the last months, which had fallen from fifteen hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred ; and it was natural to suppose, that so many people constantly quitting the town, together with the great mortality among the remaining part of the inhabitants and soldiers, would cause a still more considerable diminution.

The following is an exact list of those who died monthly, during the course of one year :

Months of the Year.	Soldiers.	Inhabitants.	Observations.
September, 1798 .	8	108	Independently of the military who died from illness, or from the effects of their wounds, forty-two were killed, five of whom were officers.
October	14	108	
November	20	107	
December	25	160	
January, 1799 . .	35	213	During the whole of the first winter the soldiers suffered extremely from a kind of <i>cecily</i> (blindness), which seized them at night and left them in the morning. The next year, however, this complaint existed but in a very trifling degree.
February	20	200	
March	37	230	
April	40	319	
May	98	338	
June	131	311	
July	79	233	
August	48	131	
Total	555	2,468	

The population of the city, which had been estimated at more than forty thousand, was already decreased to about thirteen thousand; and it became every day more difficult to supply the necessities even of that small number. In the beginning of the insurrection, bread and corn had been very abundantly distributed; but afterwards only sixty salmes were allowed monthly. These were estimated according to the market price in 1778, which was at the rate of seventy French livres eight sous the salme, making in the whole the sum of 4,224 French livres.

This liberal distribution of corn was still more necessary, because every other article was become extremely scarce, and excessively dear. Butchers' meat no longer appeared in the markets: and the only provisions to be procured were sold at the following prices in the month of September, 1799:—

Articles.	French Money.		English Money.			Observations.
	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>sous.</i>	£	s.	d.	
Fresh pork, per lb.	7	4	0	6	0	A tax had been laid upon fish, and the quantity brought to market was very insufficient for the public use. Whatever was smuggled into the city sold at an infinitely dearer rate.
Salt meat, per lb.	2	10	0	2	1	
Common cheese, per lb.	8	15	0	7	3½	
Fish of the worst quality, per lb. }	2	12	0	2	2	
Of a tolerable kind, per lb. }	3	14	0	3	1	
Of the best sort, per lb. }	3	16	0	3	2	
A fowl . . . { from	52	0	2	3	4	
{ to	60	0	2	10	0	
A pigeon . . .	12	0	0	10	0	

A rab-

Articles.	French Money.		English Money.			Observations.	
	Liv.	sous.	£.	s.	d.		
A rabbit	11	0	0	9	2	The exorbitant price of fowls, pigeons, rabbits, and eggs, induced the inhabitants and soldiers to employ themselves in rearing chickens and rabbits, by which means they became rather cheaper during the first months of the second year of the siege.	
An egg	0	16	0	0	8		
A rat	{ from	1	4	0	1		0
		to	1	18	0		1	7
A bottle of com- } mon wine . }		4	0	0	3		4
Ditto of vinegar		4	0	0	3		4
Ditto of brandy		8	0	0	6		8
A pound of sugar		22	0	0	18		4
Ditto of coffee		26	0	1	1	8	
Ditto of chocolate		18	0	0	15	0	

Beans and other vegetables were likewise extremely dear, and very difficult to be procured. The flesh of mules and asses was much in request, and the people complained bitterly whenever they were deprived of it; but the general took great care to preserve a sufficient number of these animals for the service of the city, and for grinding corn, which employed a great many both night and day.

Notwithstanding all the springs had been turned aside, and the canals which brought water to the city cut away, there was no scarcity of that article, owing to the public and private cisterns, which fortunately never failed.

The situation of the city was so deplorable at the end of the first year of the blockade, that a surrender appeared absolutely certain; yet such was the skill and unexampled perseverance of the French, that it held out still another twelve-month.

Every possible method of raising money had been put in

practice, and no means were left of procuring a supply. It was therefore absolutely necessary to be very careful of the little which remained; consequently the garrison was put on half-pay in the month of August. The salaries of the judges and all the members of the administration were likewise suspended for three months, bearing date from the same time, and the greatest part of those who were employed under them suffered a reduction of half their income.

The French soldiers being thus deprived of fresh provisions, supplied in some degree the deficiency by making gardens in the fortifications of the city, and even in places which were thought impossible to cultivate. By dint of industry, they succeeded in raising fruit and vegetables for their own consumption, and likewise for sale. Such was the exigence of the times, that in the following December their pay was entirely stopped; and wine and brandy, which had hitherto constantly been bestowed, and which indeed recruited them exceedingly, no longer distributed.

Such deprivations were sufficient to have irritated the best-disposed and most submissive troops; but in this case they had no such effect, and did not cause the smallest commotion in the garrison. During a whole twelvemonth there were scarcely twenty deserters, the greatest part of whom were either volunteers or sailors. Much management was employed in acquainting them with the departure of transports with provisions from the different ports in France, and letters were pub-

lished at proper opportunities to announce their speedy arrival. The hopes of the garrison's being quickly revictualled kept the soldiers quiet; and the intelligence they received from time to time of the great victories obtained by the French armies animated their courage, and made them ambitious of emulating their glory, by a most obstinate and unexampled defence.

A number of storeships preparing at Toulon had long been talked of by the French generals. These were to be convoyed by several men-of-war, and their arrival was dairly expected. But the first intelligence they received threw them into despair, the transports being intercepted by the English, and the convoy taken. Admiral Keith gave notice to admiral Villeneuve, that lord Nelson had given into his hands two letters from madame Villeneuve (the admiral's wife), which had been found on board the vessels taken by his Britannic majesty's fleet; adding, that he was happy in sending them to him, and would take care to have the answers properly delivered. General Vaubois, on receiving this confirmation of the dreadful event which had taken place, no longer retained any hope of receiving the necessary assistance. He therefore called a council of war, consisting of all the land and sea commanders, to consult upon the proper measures to be taken in so desperate a situation, since he could not possibly expect to preserve a place for any length of time, where there was an absolute want of almost every kind of provisions.

The result of the consultation was, to send the *Guillaume Tell* man-of-war as soon as possible to France, and with her all the sick in the garrison, together with every other person who was not necessary for the defence of the city. Orders were therefore given to take off her blinds, and put her in sailing condition.

The whole of the nine hundred thousand French livres produced from the gold, silver, and other articles in the *Mont de Piété*, was already expended. Effects to the value of eighty-two thousand livres had been employed for the service of the troops; but there still remained to the amount of thirty-six thousand livres * in other articles which could not be employed for that purpose. The French, therefore, resolved to dispose of them by a lottery, which offered very tempting baits to the adventurers. Eight thousand livres were produced by these means: but the public ceasing to bring any money, the lottery was shut up.

The soldiers, though deprived of their pay, were in a still less deplorable situation than the officers; the latter being reduced to their simple ration, whilst the former found great resources in the cultivation of their gardens, and in the exercise of their industry. General Vaubois, touched by such distress, had at two different times given each of the officers the trifling sum of one pound sterling; but being likewise desirous of bestowing some relief on the soldiers, he contrived to make a small

* One thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

retrenchment in the maintenance of the hospital, and in some other expences equally indispensable and difficult to curtail. By these means, he procured a sum sufficient in the month of June to enable him to give each soldier half-a-crown, and every officer one pound sterling. This assistance, trifling as it was, had an excellent effect on the minds of both parties, who were perfectly convinced the general had done every thing in his power to relieve their distresses.

The general was so well assured of the necessity of diverting the minds of the people, and affording them some means of relaxation in the miserable situation to which they were reduced, that he had retained the company of comedians as long as possible. He was however at last forced to dismiss them, not only from his inability of paying their salaries, but from the scarcity of provisions. Several amateurs supplied their place, and the theatre was attended as much as before.

The situation of the inhabitants now became every day more and more disastrous; and such were the effects of poverty, disease, and frequent emigration, that of forty thousand souls in September, 1798, there only remained thirteen thousand in 1799. These were reduced to ten thousand in the following October, and to seven thousand five hundred in March, 1800. So small a number gave no further cause of alarm to the government; they were therefore allowed once more to make use of bells in their churches, which had been strictly forbidden ever since the discovery of the intended insurrection. It is impos-

sible to describe the happiness of the people on this occasion ; their joy indeed was as great as if they had received the most signal favour, and they appeared for a moment to have banished from their remembrance the idea of all their sufferings. They flew in crowds to the different churches, and invoked the God of mercy with unequalled fervour. Their confidence in his goodness, and their resignation in supporting whatever evils he thought proper to inflict on them, was such as could not fail to affect the most incredulous spectator.

The besiegers continued from time to time to send commissioners on different pretences, but they were always received in the same manner, and a negative constantly given to every proposal to surrender. The Portugueze admiral, the marquis de Nissa, demanded a private interview with general Vaubois, in September, 1799. His request was granted, and he was received at fort Manuel by general Vaubois and all his staff, before whom the general, to his great surprise, declared, that if the smallest mention was made of any thing tending to the evacuation of Malta, he would immediately break off the conference. The admiral therefore, after a short conversation on political affairs of no importance, re-embarked amidst the universal shouts of *Long live the republic ! No capitulation !* He was perfectly convinced, by all which passed on this occasion, that all further negotiations would be fruitless : nothing was therefore left to be done but to intercept all means of relief, since nothing but famine could possibly reduce such determined enemies. Troops were

wanting to make a forcible attack, and the batteries raised by the besiegers were intended infinitely more to alarm the garrison than to give a regular assault. The French sometimes answered their fire, but frequently paid no attention to what passed. The bombs sometimes damaged and threw down houses, but without causing great mischief, very few being wounded, and only four or five killed. The mortars, indeed, placed on the heights which separate the smaller from the larger Marsa, threw their bombs the whole length of the grand port, and greatly impeded the departure of the *Guillaume Tell*. The preparations on this occasion went on with much activity, and the whole was completed without any accident, though the enemy threw several bombs, and fired a great many cannons at the side where the blinds had been taken away.

Vice-admiral Decres, who commanded the *Guillaume Tell*, made choice of the moment when the moon was set to venture out of the harbour. But neither the profound darkness nor the silence preserved on board availed any thing against the vigilance of the advanced posts on the Coradin and Marsa; for she had no sooner cleared the port of the galleys, than signals were made at the same instant from the above-mentioned places, to acquaint the English vessels that she was under way. A constant fire was kept up from the batteries of the besiegers, which continued till near midnight, when she sailed out of the grand port. The English presently discovered the *Guillaume Tell*, pursued her vigorously, and after a desperate

action, which recalled to mind the valour of the old French navy, succeeded in taking her. The French lost two hundred and seven men; a great number were wounded, among whom were admiral Decres and his first captain.

When the intelligence arrived of the last remaining vessel of the fleet destined for Egypt being taken, the French were most deeply affected, and too plainly perceived that they must shortly be obliged to surrender.

All means of subsistence were indeed so much decreased, that, towards the end of April, wine was only distributed to each person three times in a *decade*; and the same quantity of brandy and vinegar twice. The ration of bread was fixed at thirty ounces a-day, with one ounce of paste in a decade. Hopes were entertained, that by this arrangement the provisions would last three months longer. Oil was distributed as usual, and there still remained a sufficient quantity for one month.

The general would very willingly have sacrificed all the horses and mules for the use of the public, but these animals were necessary for grinding the corn. It was, however, resolved that when it was once reduced into flour they should be immediately killed, and their flesh properly distributed. In consequence of this determination, all hands were employed to finish the grinding with the greatest expedition.

The government gave orders for the houses throughout the city to be visited, on pretence of taking an exact account of the number of inhabitants, which at that time

amounted to rather more than seven thousand; but the real reason was to examine whether any provisions had been concealed.

The only object which presented itself to the commissioners on this occasion, was the heart-rending spectacle of the most distressing poverty.

Towards the end of June, the provisions were distributed among the inhabitants in the following proportions: each man received daily one pound and a half of bread, the women one pound, children under three years of age half a pound, and those under twelve three quarters of a pound. Whoever preferred having a certain quantity of grain in lieu of the above distribution received twenty-five pounds a-month (one third of which was barley), without distinction of age or sex. This quantity was calculated to be equal to one pound of bread each person.

A bomb-ketch from Toulon, which had been missing for twenty-four days, arrived at last towards the end of June. She was laden with wine, brandy, bacon, and vegetables;—a most fortunate supply for the French, whose spirits were greatly raised, particularly as this vessel not only announced still further assistance which might be quickly expected, but a change having taken place in the French government. No official intelligence had hitherto been received of this event, which general Vaubois immediately proclaimed, and every one swore to observe the new constitution. The joy was universal, and

it was the general opinion that Bonaparte would neglect nothing in his power which could possibly tend to preserve the only remaining conquest of his famous expedition into Egypt. The people resorted in crowds that night to the theatre, where they sung in the most enthusiastic manner some verses composed on the occasion. So violent indeed were their transports, that they appeared absolutely insensible to their miserable situation.

Different articles of provisions, at this time, were increased to the following exorbitant prices :

		<i>Liv. sous.</i>		<i>£. s. d.</i>
Fresh pork, <i>per lb.</i>	. .	8 12	.	0 7 2
Bottle of oil, call-	} from	24 0	.	1 0 0
ed <i>Cartouche.</i>		28 0	.	1 3 4
Pound of sugar	{ from	43 0	.	1 16 8
	{ to	48 0	.	2 0 0
Pound of coffee	{ from	48 0	.	2 0 0
	{ to	58 0	.	2 8 4

Large rats, especially those found in the bakehouses, were extremely dear, and in much estimation. Almost all the dogs and cats in the city had been killed and eaten, consequently were become exceedingly scarce. Asses, mules, and horses, had experienced the same fate; except, indeed, a few belonging to the French, which were absolutely necessary for the service of the garrison.

The mortality among the troops and inhabitants had

rather diminished than encreased, as will be perceived by the following table. The troops in the garrison, before the departure of the *Guillaume Tell*, consisted of four thousand men.

Bill of mortality from the month of Sept. 1799, to Sept. 1800.

Months.	Soldiers.	Inhabitants.
September	33	102
October	30	100
November	19	99
December	11	60
January	23	44
February	13	42
March	6	30
April	14	27
May	6	19
June	3	16
July	7	25
August	5	22
Total	170	596

The moment at last arrived, when no further means of subsistence remained, and when a surrender became indispensably necessary. But before such an event took place, general Vaubois and admiral Villeneuve, thought it their duty to endeavour to save the two frigates lying in the port; they were therefore equipt, and immediately set sail. Two days afterwards the French perceived the *Diane* frigate in the midst of the English squadron. A council of war was then assembled, to consult

on what day a capitulation should be proposed; and after an exact account being taken of the quantity of flour still remaining in the storehouses, it was found that there was only sufficient to last till the 22d Fructidor (8th September). It was therefore the general opinion to enter into a parley with the besiegers on the 17th Fructidor, and the terms of capitulation were accordingly agreed on. In consequence of these deliberations, general Vaubois wrote directly to general Pigot to demand a capitulation; upon which, the latter deputed general Graham, and commodore Martin, who commanded the sea department, to treat on the business. They arrived in the city Valetta at half past eleven in the morning, and a conference immediately took place between general Vaubois and admiral Villeneuve on one side, and the above-mentioned officers on the other. The principal articles demanded by the French were complied with in the politest manner, and general Graham returned to the country to acquaint general Pigot with those about which they could not agree. He soon returned with the answer, and the English generals concluded the definitive treaty that very evening. The articles of capitulation were sent early the following morning to the city Valetta, and at four in the afternoon the English troops took possession of the Floriana, fort Tigné, and fort Ricasoli. At the same time two English frigates, a transport, and two gunboats, entered the port. The next day the whole squadron anchored in the same place, and made all possible haste to fit

out vessels to transport the French troops to their own country. Every thing was ready in two days, and the greatest part of the garrison embarked ; those who were not in a condition to be removed were placed in fort Manuel. Their immediate departure was the more necessary, because it was with the greatest difficulty the English could prevent the Maltese from revenging themselves on the traitors who had occasioned the first surrender of the island. The French, indeed, were so perfectly convinced of the implacable hatred they bore to the favourers of their cause, that they particularly stipulated, in the twelfth article of the capitulation, *that neither the soldiers in the besiegers troops nor the inhabitants of the country should be permitted to enter the city till such time as the French troops should be embarked, and out of sight of the port.* The English might undoubtedly have insisted upon terms much less advantageous to the conquered, but their conduct proved that they knew how to esteem and reward as they ought to do so courageous a resistance.

C H A P. X.

The principal Motives which induced the French to undertake the Expedition to Egypt, and the taking of Malta. Contradictions which appear in the Proclamations of the Directory and the Declarations of the French Generals. The Directory destroyed by Bonaparte. Deploable Situation of the Maltese under any other Government than their ancient one. The Christian Powers interested in preserving the Order. Means of re-establishing the Navy. Impossibility of destroying the Barbary Pirates. The Knights alone capable of keeping up a continual War against them. Exhortation to the Knights to return to their original Character of simple Hospitallers, in the different Countries where they may happen to take up their Abode.

MALTA, situated on a rock in the midst of the Mediterranean, was fortified in the strongest manner. Nature and art combined in making it, to all appearance, impregnable; and there was every reason to believe it would have escaped the dire effects of the war, which had already spread desolation throughout the Continent. The inhabitants, happy under the wise and paternal government of the knights, appeared likely to repulse every attempt at a revolution which would tend to destroy it. Yet, alas! as it has fatally proved, neither the strength of the fortifications nor the benevolence of the sovereign could save it from destruction.

I have already laid before the reader the deep dissimulation with which the French government contrived the ruin of

Malta; I will now take notice of the extraordinary circumstances which decided the moment for carrying their perfidious plans into execution, with the motives they alleged in justification of their conduct. Lastly, in pleading the cause of the Maltese and knights, I will endeavour to place before their eyes the cruel misfortunes which must necessarily await them, should they be doomed to an eternal separation.

The members of the directory having made a temporary peace with the continent, were suddenly deprived of the resources with which the pillage of their agents had hitherto supplied them. The riches carried off from Germany, Holland, and Italy, had been as quickly dissipated as acquired. The want of money, and the equal want of credit to procure a supply, soon rendered their situation very embarrassing; particularly as the peace lately concluded left a victorious and discontented army to be paid, young and ambitious generals to be restrained within bounds, and men of letters to be bribed to silence. Thus critically situated, a romantic expedition, worthy the days of chivalry, was imagined: this was calculated to satisfy both army and literati, by presenting to the former the most brilliant prospect of military glory, and to the latter advantages of various kinds. The command was given to a general whose influence was dreaded by the directory; for it was very well known that he had obtained the confidence of the soldiers during war, and was much connected with artists and men of letters in time of peace.

The little remaining money in the public coffers was employed in preparations for this expedition. A considerable fleet was fitted out with unheard-of celerity. The troops, distinguished by the name of the army of England, were embarked on board six hundred transports in the ports of the Mediterranean. The greatest part of these troops, whose hopes had been raised, and who had flattered themselves with gaining immense riches on the banks of the Thames, little imagined they were destined to fight against an allied power, and lose their lives or liberty on a friendly shore.

It is impossible to imagine any thing more truly absurd and ridiculous in diplomatic affairs than the official proclamations and manifestoes published relative to Malta. When the French fleet appeared before the island, the commanders announced themselves as friends to the order, and, as such, demanded free entrance into the port, to take in water; notwithstanding which the French government soon after publicly affirmed, that it had regarded Malta as an enemy ever since the year 1792*. The generals also declared to the knights, that it was very fortunate they had offered no resistance, since, on a signal agreed on with the French fleet, they would all have been instantly massacred. They likewise confessed that this atrocious conspiracy had been long formed by the directory. The commander in chief frankly owned,

* See Appendix, No. XIII. Message of the Directory.

that the principal motive of his precipitate attack on Malta was the apprehensions of its becoming the property of Russia. He might have added with still greater truth, that having left France without money, the gold, jewels, and great riches, of the island, were too attractive to escape the rapacious views of the French troops ; and that his ill-manned fleet stood in the utmost need of recruits to furnish to each ship its proper and proportionate complement. On any other occasion, or at any other time, a general might probably have addressed himself to the grand-master, simply telling him, that his enemies (knowing his inability to make an efficacious defence) intended to take advantage of his situation, and to invade the island ; and that, to prevent their designs being carried into execution, he would place a garrison in some of the fortresses, which in the event of a peace should be withdrawn. Such a declaration, however, could never have been made by the agents of the directory, who must naturally adopt the language of their superiors. Even the commander in chief, though certain victory seemed to attend his footsteps, at the very moment that he commanded success, was himself bound in chains rivetted by the hands of guilt and tyranny.

Let me here express my sincerest wishes for the happiness of the Maltese people. Ruined by the French, conquered by the English, uncertain of their future destiny, what a cruel situation is theirs ! The question at present is, whether or not, like so many other nations, they are to be sacrificed to what is

dignified by the epithet of *the general interest*, and become the property of some continental power? Supposing this to be the case, what must necessarily be their fate?

The moment the Maltese become subject to another sovereign, a garrison of five or six thousand foreign troops will enter their island, and they will be obliged to furnish an equal number of seamen. It is contrary to the political system of the European states to allow arsenals for the navy, and dock-yards for ship-building, in countries distant from their metropolis; and still less will they consent to transport the produce of their industry and manufactures into such countries: it is not therefore to be expected that an exception should be made in favour of Malta. It likewise makes part of the same system, that all subjects of one empire should be indiscriminately taxed, and that such taxes should be equally paid by foreigners and natives. Why then imagine that Malta should be more indulgently treated than the rest of its fellow-subjects?

I have already sufficiently proved that of the hundred thousand inhabitants in Malta, only one-third could subsist on the product of the island; that, consequently, different methods were obliged to be employed to provide for the remaining sixty-six thousand:—that the university was under the necessity of purchasing corn every year to a more considerable amount than what was produced by the whole trade and industry of the island; that without the four millions of French livres

annually expended by the knights, it would have been impossible to have supplied the inhabitants with the most necessary articles of existence; that the order never laid on any direct taxes; and that the natives alone had a share in the civil administration of the island, together with every thing relative to the finances. Where, may I ask, will the sovereign be found, who, at this present moment, will produce from his coffers the above-mentioned sums? Who will contribute to the maintenance of hospitals constantly open for the reception of the sick of both sexes?—Who will daily distribute bread to five or six hundred families?—and who will keep up those numerous institutions, where infancy and old age received gratis all that assistance so particularly necessary at the two most interesting periods of human existence, and which, alas! they might elsewhere vainly implore?—Who, may I likewise demand, will supply the place of the four or five hundred knights who inhabited the magnificent palaces and sumptuous edifices in the city Valetta; and who, in their superb country-houses, constantly employed themselves in cultivating at a great expence the (to all appearance) barren soil of this rocky isle?

Since, unhappily, there exists no sovereign capable of advancing those sums which are absolutely necessary, not only for the prosperity of the island, but to prevent the dire effects of famine, by which it must be annually threatened, I may venture confidently to affirm, that, ere a few years shall be elapsed, Malta will become a burthensome charge to its so-

vereign; who, in his turn, must necessarily be odious to his subjects. Yet, surely, all conquerors who are ambitious of obtaining the interesting title of the benefactors of mankind—a title, alas ! given to so very small a number by posterity—must ever be desirous to maintain their newly-acquired subjects in their former happy situation ; and, if possible, make them forget by a succession of fresh benefits, those which had rendered their predecessors so truly and so justly beloved.

Russia had undoubtedly formed the wisest plan, when, wishing to add the possession of this island to her vast domains, she determined to preserve the order of St. John of Jerusalem, as the only means of making it a useful and flourishing colony. To this it may perhaps be objected, that though the above-mentioned facts cannot be denied, nor the utility of the order disputed, it would be impossible, after the cruel losses it has sustained, either to support the hospitals, or provide the armaments which rendered its existence so extremely important to the trade of the Mediterranean. Five languages still remain of the original eight which composed the order of Malta ;—that of Italy, which unfortunately has lost half its possessions ; that of Anglo-Bavaria, and those of Arragon, Castille, and Germany, which have suffered in a less degree. There still, however, exist some benefices which bring in a considerable revenue, and which of late years have been almost exclusively possessed by either princes, or the near relations of popes and cardinals. Let the order then, in future, fix the *maximum* of each com-

mandery at (we will suppose) fifteen hundred pounds sterling, and the overplus of those which exceed this sum be appropriated to the support of the Maltese navy. Should the knights of these languages (which I will not allow myself to suppose) object, that such an overplus would be insufficient to answer the purposed end, let the deficit be supplied by taxing the commanderies in proportion to their respective value. This mode of proceeding will, I am perfectly convinced, be approved by the knights: it is not only just, but absolutely necessary. The age we live in calls for the greatest sacrifices: they are, indeed, become an indispensable duty, since they are not only sanctioned, but commanded, by the sacred laws of both religion and honour.

Should the order once more return to Malta, it would be absolutely impossible, for the first year or two, to maintain the same number of men-of-war as formerly; and the other Christian powers would be unjust to complain of such a deficiency: on the contrary, it would be greatly for their own interest to furnish the knights with some vessels in sailing condition; the corsairs having undoubtedly taken advantage of their absence to range unmolested the Mediterranean.

It has frequently been in agitation to pay subsidies to the order* ; but a revenue of this kind could never with propriety be accepted; since Malta would then be a tributary state, and

* See Meyer.

consequently become dependent on a particular power. These subsidies might likewise be stopped at pleasure, which would make the state of the Maltese navy very uncertain. It ought, on the contrary, to be permanent, and always ready to set sail on the first appearance of a Barbary corsair having put to sea. Let no one imagine the utility of the order of Malta to be merely temporary and partial; it is, on the contrary, both constant and general: constant, because the infidels who inhabit the coast of the Mediterranean, interest themselves very little about commerce, the greatest part of them subsisting entirely by piracy, consequently never are at peace at one and the same time with all Christian princes; and general, since it does not merely confine itself to protecting the countries in which its possessions are situated, such as Spain, Sicily, and Italy, but is equally attentive to the interests of America, Russia, Sweden, Prussia, &c. These countries may, indeed, be said to reap still greater advantages from its protection: since some months must necessarily elapse, before it can possibly be known at Philadelphia, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Berlin, that the beys of Tunis and Algiers have declared war; during which time, without the assistance of Malta, the corsairs would seize on the merchantmen of these powers with impunity.

The English and French men-of-war, in honour bound to keep treaties with their allies, which the Barbarians laugh at and break at pleasure, are frequently obliged to remain inactive

spectators of the capture of these vessels, and the cruelty exercised on their miserable crews: whilst Malta, on the contrary, no sooner receives intelligence of the appearance of a corsair, than vessels are instantly dispatched in pursuit; and if they come up with her they seize on all the prizes she has taken, and give liberty to the slaves. The American, Russian, Swedish, and Prussian merchantmen, are equally assured of the protection of the order. This, indeed, is granted them as a matter of right: but it has not even been refused to its most cruel persecutors; whose merchantmen have been retaken by the knights, and restored to their owners, and the crews released from slavery.

Those who are acquainted with the different powers of Barbary, the nature of their government, and their means of defence, must necessarily smile at the various plans formed to destroy them. Few places in Europe, at this present time, are so well fortified towards the sea as Algiers: the sovereign can at any time raise fifty thousand men, six or seven thousand of whom are excellent soldiers, and the rest would immediately march, and greatly annoy any troops who should attempt to land on his territories. All the neighbouring states would likewise unite to make war against any Christians who should venture to attack him in his own dominions; and, sooner or later, an European army laying siege to the capital must inevitably perish at the foot of the ramparts. Nay, even were it possible to succeed, a conquest of such a nature could never be preserved

without sacrificing numbers of troops ; since the climate of Africa is still more inimical to an European, than the scymitar of the mussulman, or the balls and arrows of the Arabs and Moors.

People of a more moderate way of thinking, who are well acquainted with the difficulty of taking such a variety of forts extending the whole length of the coast of Barbary, and the much greater one of establishing colonies in those countries, are still of opinion, that nothing could be more easy than to block up their ports ; but they do not consider, that, independent of the considerable squadron which must always be maintained to preserve a coast extending from the straits of Gibraltar to Egypt, the navigation is well known by seamen to be particularly dangerous. Even the nations which have been regarded as the most formidable at sea, have no longer any rowing vessels ; and the Mediterranean being subject to flat calms which frequently last several days, the best disciplined fleet would be of small avail against galiots and half-galiots rowing four or five knots an hour, and only drawing six feet water.

Were it even possible to carry such a plan into execution, it could never take place without the unanimous consent of all the Christian powers ; and this, their different political and commercial interests must ever prevent. Such an agreement could never be lasting ; since it must infallibly be broken the moment war was declared between any of the

parties. Malta then is the only power which can continually and indiscriminately pursue all Barbary corsairs ; since she is constantly at peace with every Christian state, and can never be induced from either political or commercial motives to form an alliance with the powers of Africa. Though France and Venice entered into an agreement with the order, that its squadron should not enter the Levant and Adriatic, it was only because those two powers refused to admit corsairs of any description into their latitude. They, however, never objected to the ships of Malta pursuing any Barbary vessels which had taken shelter in those seas : and from the moment a Christian power went to war with the Turks, this convention with France and Venice was broken ; because the order then became their ally, and accompanied them in all their expeditions.

Were the cause of the knights and Maltese people to be pleaded, and their right to return to their former situation to be discussed, in a court actuated by motives of justice and humanity, it would undoubtedly soon be decided. My most ardent wishes are, that this may be the case, notwithstanding the intrigues and false reasoning of the politicians of the present day, who, intoxicated with the success of their armies, mistake the real interest of their country, to which they cruelly and wantonly sacrifice the peace and happiness of their fellow-creatures.

Before I conclude this work, I may, surely, be allowed to

address myself in the few following words to the knights in general, and still more particularly to those who, like myself, have taken refuge in England, and found an honourable asylum in that hospitable isle.—

Since ye have quitted Malta, most probably, alas ! never to return ; since ye have left behind you your archives, title-deeds, trophies, and arms ; let your virtues shine the more conspicuous, and let them prove to an admiring world, that you still possess that Christian humility, that perfect obedience to your ancient laws, that unalterable patience and resignation, and that spirit of universal charity, which not even the severest misfortunes can extinguish. Let the same men, equally remarkable as warriors and hospitallers, once more dedicate themselves to the service of the poor and sick, and, following the example of Gerard their original founder, erect new hospitals in the Christian world. And, oh ! may the zeal with which they serve those who need relief touch the heart of the most obstinate unbeliever, and the fame of their charity inspire those of another creed with sentiments of esteem and admiration ! Be persuaded, my brethren, that it is to the memory of your hospitable virtues, still more than to that of your military exploits, that you owe the distinguished protection of one of the most powerful sovereigns in Europe.

Why, then, let me ask, in a country where we have reaped the fruits of an enlightened toleration, and where the most philanthropical insitutions abound—why may we not unite

ourselves in a body, and at least have the sweet consolation in our misfortunes of offering, as in the original houses of the order, an asylum to the poor and sick of all countries and religions? Thus would the benefactions we have received from a magnanimous prince and a generous nation be employed in a manner worthy of ourselves, and of the motives which procured them for us.

In those happy times when the hospitals of Malta were thrown open for the relief of suffering humanity, did it ever occur to a member of the order, to question those who presented themselves at the gates with respect to the country they inhabited, or the God whom they served? No; they, on the contrary, hastened to assure the unfortunate sufferer that the God of mercy and charity was the Deity they adored;—that God who taught his disciples, that the whole universe being the work of his all-powerful hand, its inhabitants were equally his children, and, as such, indiscriminately entitled to every assistance and consolation, during their residence in this transitory world of tears and misery, wherein it was his good pleasure to place them.

To you, seamen of different nations, I may more particularly address myself; since to you the lazarettoes and infirmaries of Malta have constantly been open. Say then, the treasures you trusted to their care, were they not always faithfully restored? Was any recompence ever demanded for the most unremitted attendance? The knights themselves, whilst presenting you the

bitter draught which was to restore you to health, and which they endeavoured to soften by the tenderest attentions; did they, I say, notwithstanding the difference of your faith, and the ardent desire they must naturally feel to convert you to their own, ever disturb the dying moments of those their pious care could not restore? No; the members of the Greek and Latin church received, on their death-bed, all those spiritual consolations their consciences required. The mussulman himself, in the last moments of his existence, was equally permitted to consult the book of his prophet; and those of that sect were allowed the free use of an enclosure, which was as much respected as if it were situated in the mosques at Mecca and Medina.

If, then, there exists no country wherein the knights of Malta may not reclaim some unhappy being restored to life and liberty by their charitable care, may they equally, in whatsoever nation they fix their residence, still continue to practise that distinguished benevolence, for which they have ever been so justly renowned! and may these same nations have no other cause of regret than that Malta had so long deprived them of such valuable members of society!

Quocirca vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

HOR.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

EXPLANATION OF THE ENGRAVINGS,

WITH

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THEM.

THE same sentiments of sincerity which induced me to make known to the reader the different authors from whom I have collected my materials for this work, oblige me likewise to state whence I have taken the plates by which it is illustrated.

PLATE I. *Greek and Roman Monuments.*

Fig. 1.—Greek and Roman medals.—I preferred these medals to those in La Borde's Travels, on account of the original style being better preserved than in the superior manner of engraving of Mons. de St. Aubin.

Fig. 2.—Greek medals. The greatest part of them are tolerably engraved in *Les Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur Malthe*. They are here delineated of the

the original size, and express the roughness of the mould in which they were cast.

Fig. 3.—A Greek altar, engraved in Abela, Houël (intermixed with other monuments), and *Le Voyage d'un François à Malthe*.

Fig. 4.—Engraved from one in *Malthe, par un Voyageur François*. Monument unknown.

Fig. 5.—Sepuchral lamp, which may be supposed with much probability to be Roman. It has frequently been engraved.

PLATE II. *Phœnician and Carthaginian Monuments.*

Fig. 1.—Phœnician and Carthaginian medals: frequently engraved. See the above-mentioned works.

Fig. 2.—Vase and Patera, with characters, supposed to be Phœnician. See *Malthe, par un Voyageur François*.

Fig. 3.—Base of a candelabrum, with Punic and Greek characters. The same figure, but of a larger size, is given in *Les Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.

Fig. 4.—Characters of the inscription on the base of fig. 3.

PLATE III. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions and Monuments of the Lower Empire.*

Fig. 1.—Greek inscription. See *Malthe, par un Voyageur François*.

Fig. 2.—Latin inscription. See ditto.

Fig. 3.—Bronze statue, with Greek, Etruscan, and unknown characters, and the monogram of the word Christ. See *Malthe, par un Voyageur François*. This is the only work in which I have found this extraordinary antique.

Fig. 4.—Characters inscribed on the above statue.

Fig. 5.—Coin of count Roger, count of Malta.

PLATE IV. *Different Monuments.*

Fig. 1.—Basso-relievo, thirty-nine inches by twenty-two. There is a fine engraving of this in Houël, with two others of Penthesilia and Zenobia; but I have given the preference to the first, on account of its having preserved the true Gothic style of these stone monuments. See *Malthe, par un Voyageur François*.

Fig. 2.—Bust of Penthesilia, in basso-relievo. See ditto.

Fig. 3.—Bust of Zenobia, in basso-relievo. See ditto.

Fig. 4.—Statue of Hercules. See ditto.

Fig. 5.—Bust of Antinous. See ditto.

Fig. 6.—Head of Augustus, basso-relievo. See ditto.

Fig. 7.—She-wolf which suckled Romulus and Remus.
See ditto.

PLATE V. *Plans of the Interior of the Tombs in the Benjemma Mountains. See Houël.*

Fig. 1.—A kind of small anti-chamber communicating with the tombs.

Fig. 2.—Interior of the place in which it is supposed the corpse was deposited.

Fig. 3.—A large anti-chamber, in which are the passages into the tombs E F, through which the corpse was brought in to be buried.

Fig. 4.—D the entrance. G small niches, capable of containing two or three corpses. B large anti-chamber, in which the preparations for the funeral were most probably made. C D large tombs.

Fig. 5.—The smallest of these subterraneous passages, containing only two tombs. H and B mark the same places as E F, fig. 3.

PLATE VI. *View of the Remains of a House in the Grecian Style of Architecture, at Casal Zurick.* Houël.

Fig. 1.—A The entrance door.

B A window, with a woman in the back ground.

C A plan of the dimensions of the house.

D A side view of the cornice on the walls.

PLATE VI. *Bird's-eye View of the Rock in which is the Grotto and Apartments supposed to have been formerly inhabited by the Nymph Calypso.* Houël.

Fig. 2.—A First story.

B Second ditto.

C Entrance into the grotto.

- D Large chamber.
- E Stairs conducting to the different stories.
- F Cisterns.
- H Apartments on the second story.
- I Tombs, or grottoes serving for burying places.

PLATE VII. *View of the extraordinary Fountain occasioned by the
Clockmaker's Saltworks.*

Fig. 1.—A Mouth of the well.

B Apparatus employed for drawing up the water.

D The fountain.

PLATE VII. *Plan of an ancient Building in a circular form,
called Tadar Nadar Iszira. Houël.*

Fig. 2.—A The entrance.

BB Upright stones.

BC Horizontal stones.

PLATE VII. *Form and particular Parts of the above-mentioned
Building, which give reason to believe it was for-
merly a Temple. Houël.*

Fig. 3.—A The entrance.

B The nave of a temple.

C The sanctuary.

D A kind of sacristy.

E A retired part of the building: use unknown.

PLATE VIII. *Remains of an ancient edifice, commonly called the Giant's Tower.* Houël.

A A Stones placed lengthwise on the rock.

B B B Stones in a contrary direction.

PLATE IX. *View of the Mushroom Shelve.* Houël.

A A Ropes fastened to the rock.

B The machine, with pulleys at the corners, by which means the persons employed to gather the mushrooms are conveyed backwards and forwards.

PLATE X. *Dress of the Maltese.* Houël.

A The tomb mentioned in Chap. IV.

B Maltese dog, or *bichon*, taken from an engraving in Buffon.

C A Maltese woman in the dress of a citizen.

D A child walking out.

E Maltese baroness in full dress.

F Remains of the Cotoner, near the Old City.

PLATE XI. *Representation of the Fungus Melitensis, from Michelé.* For explanation of references, see p. 157.

PLATE XII. *Portrait of Raymond du Puis, as he is depicted in ancient Paintings.* See Heliot.

PLATE XIII. *A professed Knight, in the Habit worn at his Reception.*

PLATE XIV. *A Nun of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.*

VIEWS.

Bird's-eye View of the City and Port of Malta.

Bird's-eye View of the City and Port of Messina.

PORTRAITS.

Portrait of the Grand-Master La Valette.

Portrait of the Grand-Master Alof de Vignacourt, taken from the original Picture by Michael-Angelo Caravaggio. The drawing by Berton, a pupil of the French painter David.

Portrait of the Grand-Master Emanuel de Rohan, taken from an original picture.

Portrait of His Royal Highness Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, the brother of Frederick the Grand. This drawing was taken from life, by his highness's permission, for the author of this work.

No. II.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

MAP OF MALTA AND GOZA.

Remarks on the Canal of Malta.

THE sea which divides Malta from Sicily is only eighty fathoms deep in the middle, and generally very shallow in other parts. The bottom is sandy.

The sea, particularly in winter, is almost always extremely rough.

The current at the entrance of the canal on the west-north-west side generally runs towards the east-south-east, and on the east-south-east side to the east.

The sea is very much agitated, and the waves so short, that the navigation for large vessels is very fatiguing. The galleys of the order have been known to anchor in the middle; and the English vessels remained there a whole winter in very bad weather, which before had always been thought impossible.

No. III.

Explanation of the Abbreviations in the Map.

Batt.	. . .	Batteries.
Ca ^l.	. . .	Casal.
Ca.	. . .	Cannon.
Cas.	. . .	Castle.
Cha.	. . .	Chapel.
Gar.	. . .	Garden.
Int.	. . .	Intrenchment.
H.	. . .	House.
P ^t.	. . .	Port.
P.	. . .	Point.
Red.	. . .	Redoubt.
Rui.	. . .	Ruins.
T.	. . .	Tower.

Signification of Maltese Words.

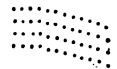
<i>Aain</i>	. . .	Fountain.
<i>Calle</i>	. . .	Port.
<i>Casal</i>	. . .	Burgh, or village.
<i>Còla, or Kola</i>		Hill.
<i>Gebel</i>	. . .	Mountain.
<i>Ras</i>	. . .	Cape.
<i>Redum</i>	. . .	Precipice.
<i>Vied or Wiet</i>		Valley

Interpretation of the Marks.

†⇒ Grappling-irons, or double anchors, generally intended to point out the *calles* or ports into which galleys may enter.

A line of dots barring the ports, denotes how far ships may venture into the said ports.

†⇒ This anchor shews, that ships or galleys may enter into the places where they are marked.

The small dots thus marked  along the coast, denote the places where a landing may be made good.

The most remarkable places described in this work are marked on the map in the following manner :

- A Remains of a Greek edifice.
- B Remains of a Phœnician ditto.
- C Old tower, called *Giaurd*.
- D Ruins of an ancient edifice and cistern.
- E Remains of ancient walls.
- F Ruins of several Phœnician edifices.
- G Arch and grotto in the rock.
- H Ruins of *Girgenti*, or *del Pelegrino*.
- I Benjemma mountain, and tombs.
- K Ruins of the temple of Proserpine.

- L** Calypso's grotto.
- M** Giant's tower.
- N** Ancient edifices.
- O** Other ruins.
- P** Cassia.
- Q** Clockmaker's grotto and well.

No. IV.

A T A B L E,

Pointing out—First, the most convenient Places for Anchorage and the Disembarkation of Troops—Second, the greatest and least Depth of Water in the Ports, Creeks, and Coves—Third, the Nature of the Watering-places—Fourth, the Style of Fortifications erected to defend them—Fifth, the Number of Guns with which they were mounted.

An.	Anchorage.		D ^s .	Disembarking*.		P ^s .	Point.		R.	Redoubt.	
B ^s .	Battery.		P.	Port.		Int.	Intrenchment.		T.	Tower.	
Ca.	Cannon.										
Names of the different Places.			Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.					
			Deep.	Shallow.							
1.	.	Between l'Isola di Foria †	.	.	.	A passage for ships.					
2.	.	At the point of Benisa	.	7	.	Called by the Maltese Binrisa and Ta Sicca. To the right of this point, at the distance of a mile and a half, are sands four or six fathoms deep.					
I.	Tower of Benisa	.	.	.	4						

Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
	Deep.	Shallow.		
II. Int. at the Point	.	.	.	
III. Battery of Benisa .	.	.	8 or Balbani.	
IV. Redoubt of La Cala Franca or Frenoi.	
V. Battery of Elminiech	.	.	8 or Figuetta.	
VI. Redoubt Spinola	
VII. Battery Pinto .	.	.	8	
VIII. Redoubt St. George	.	.	.	
IX. Battery Feretti .	.	.	10	
X. Tower Marsa Sirocco	.	.	6 and fort St. Julian.	
3. . . Redoubt de Vendome	.	.	.	
The centre of the port } 23 Marsa Sirocco . } 22				D ^r . At the furthest end. The anchorage is spacious and tolerably good, tho' dangerous when the wind blows strong from the east.
4. . . Small creek in a straight line from St. George's chapel	6	5	. D ^r .	
XI. Redoubt del Fango or of de Vami.	
XII. Battery de Vielgra, or Vulgia .	.	.	8 or of Zondodari.	
5. . . Between point Delimara and the small island Ittacha, which is behind the tower at the entrance .	.	8	. Good anchorage.	
6. . . St. Thomas's port, or calle .	5	2	.	Dangerous at the point de la Segra, owing to sand-banks three, four, and five fathoms below the surface of the water. The coast is also unsafe.

	Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
		Deep.	Shallow.		
	XIII. St. Thomas's tower	.	.	6	
	XIV. Battery below the tower	.	.	12	
	XV. Int. at St. Thomas's. Flat shore	.	.	.	
	XVI. Battery Ducluseaux	.	.	7	
7.	Marsa Scala	6	5	.	{ Anchorage at the point Ezoncol.
8.	At the point Ezoncol	13	10	.	
	XVII. Tower at Marsa Scala, B ^t . underneath.	.	.	12	
	XVIII. Int. at the flat shore of Marsa Scala	.	.	.	or Brissonet.
9.	Tower Blada, or Zaida	8	5	.	{ From point Ezoncol to Ricasoli, at the en- trance of the grand port, there is safe anchorage in fine weather at a league from land. It is also possible to anchor at the same distance the whole length of the coast as far as point Hanac or Ha- rach, as well as on the coast of Goza. The bottom is al- most always sandy, though in some places rocky.
10.	Point Ricasoli	30	25	.	
					{ Likewise called Punta Sottile, Delle Forche, and Del' Orso.

Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
	Deep.	Shallow.		
11. . . Entrance of the Grand Port	30			<p>A north-east wind blows directly into the port, and in bad weather, when the sea runs high, pushes the vessels towards the point of the Slaves' Barracks. The bottom is in some places of broken rocks, in others smooth, unequal, & covered with soapy slime. The anchorage before the store-houses, Lascaris and Pinto, has a black slimy bottom, and is very safe; but beyond point Coradin, in the smaller Mar-sa, it is dangerous to anchor, because the vessel would sink into the mud.</p>
12. . . Between St. Elmo and Ricasoli	20			
13. . . Opposite the Renello	15			
14. . . Point St. Salvador	12			
15. . . English port	8	2		
16. . . Near the point of fort St. Angelo	13	9		<p>Anchorage between six and three fathoms. Black slimy bottom.</p>
17. . . Entrance of the port of the Galleys	7	4		

	Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
		Deep.	Shallow.		
18.	Entrance of the French port }	6	5	.	{ An. between six and five fathoms. Black slimy bottom.
19.	Near the heights of Coradin	2	.	.	
20.	The length of fort St. Elmo	25	.	.	
21.	Entrance of the port Marsa Musceit .	15	.	.	{ Muscetto, or a good wintering place. An east wind blows di- rectly in, and in bad weather the sea runs high.
22.	Near point Dragut and fort Tigné	10	.	.	
23.	Between fort Manuel and fort Tigné .	8	2	.	
24.	Between La Valetta and the isle of Man- uel	6	2	.	Anchorage five fath.
25.	Point Dragut towards the sea	20	.	.	
26.	Port or calle St. Julian	4	2	.	{ D ^r . in two places. An. at the entrance, four fathoms.
	XIX. Tower of St. Julian	.	.	6	
	XX. Battery at the foot of the tower . . . .	.	.	12	
27.	Port or calle St. George	3	.	.	{ An. at the entrance. D ^r .
	XXI. Redoubt St. George	.	.	.	
	XXII. Tower St. George	.	.	4	
28.	As far as the first point of land	6	.	.	
29.	From thence the length of the coast, as far as the calle Magda- len	5	2	.	

	Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Number of Canals.	Observations.
		Deep.	Shallow.		
30.	Port or calle Magda-				
	len	7	8		D ^r .
	XXIII. Magdalen tower				
	XXIV. Redoubt of the Mag-				
	dalen				
	XXV. Tower Marco or				
	Marcu			2	
	XXVI. Battery Marco			6	
	XXVII. Redoubt Marco				or Vendome.
	XXVIII. Battery de Gallis			6	or Pondéves.
31.	Calle St. Mark				D ^r .
32.	Calle of the Saltworks,				
	or port Benhouarrat	6	5		or Benouazrat D ^r .
	XXIX. Redoubt of the Salt-				
	works				
	XXX. Intrenched house,				
	serving for a redoubt				
	XXXI. Tower at the point of				
	Kaura			2	B ^r . of the university.
33.	Calle, or port St. Paul	6	2		An. between six and three fath. Good bottom. D ^r . in five places.
	XXXII. Battery of Butjubba			8	
	XXXIII. Tower St. Paul			2	or Elbene.
	XXXIV. Battery below the				
	tower			6	
	XXXV. Battery to the right				
	of the flat shore			4	
	XXXVI. Battery to the left of do.			4	or Vendome.
	XXXVII. Battery della Maistra			6	{ Mestra, Mistra, Mis- bra, or Despirasse.
34.	Calle della Maistra	4	2		
35.	Between the isle Sal-				{ D ^r . Dangerous in a south wind.
	mon* and Malta				
					D ^r .

* This island is called Gezir Ta Selmun by the Maltese, from the name of a Sicilian family.

	Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
		Deep.	Shallow.		
36.	Beyond the tower Hanadi . . .	6	5	.	or Hadi. D ^r .
37.	Calle of Melleha, or the old Saltworks	18	3	.	{ Anchor. between 10 & 5 fath. Many D ^r .
XXXVIII.	Tower Melleha . . .	.	.	.
XXXIX.	Battery to the right of the calle . . .	.	.	8	or Vestrem.
XL.	Redoubt della Melleha . . .	.	.	.	or Fedeau.
XLI.	Battery to the left of the calle . . .	.	.	8	or Vendome.
38.	The length of the coast of Malta in the Freghi, as far as Carkerva . . .	6	3	.	{ Freghi or Freo, from Fretum. Several D ^r .
XLII.	Tower of Harach . . .			2	
XLIII.	Battery below the tower . . .	.	.	8	or Despinasse.
XLIV.	Redoubt of the grand flat shore . . .	.	.	.	or Louviers.
XLV.	Redoubt of La Can- niere. . . .	.	.	.	or Crivelli.
XLVI.	Battery of Vendome . . .	.	.	16	
XLVII.	Redoubt of Hossiliet . . .	.	.	.	or d'Escalar.
XLVIII.	R. of the flat shore Tu Wied Mussa . . .	.	.	.	or Spada. *
XLIX.	Battery of Wied Mussa . . .	.	.	.	or Stevin Baudeville.
39.	Calle Carkeva or Car- kava . . .	5	.	.	D ^r .
40.	Point Carmieche, or Camea . . .	4	.	.	{ D ^r . There are several as far as the point or port Miggiari il Bahari*.

* The Turks dropped anchor on the 13th of May, 1565, in this port, which is a mile and a half from Pelegrino.

	Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
		Deep.	Shallow.		
<i>Island Comino, Cumin, or Comingo.</i>					
41.	Freghi, between Malta and Cumin, near the latter	20 30	12 15	.	.
42.	Freghi, between Cu- min and Goza	16	9	.	.
	L. Tower of the fort of Cumin . . . . .	.	.	6	.
	LI. Battery of Kemuna	.	.	.	.
43.	Calle St. Mary . . .	10	9	.	.
	LII. R. St. Mary . . .				
<i>Island of Goza.</i>					
44.	P. Miggiaro on the Cumin side . . . . .	.	.	.	D ^r . for very small vessels.
45.	Two creeks, near fort Gorzas . . . . .	.	.	.	D ^r . ditto.
	LIII. Tower Miggiar . . . .	.	.	.	.
	LIV. Tower of port Mig- giaro . . . . .	.	.	6	or Magiario.
	LV. Battery of the calle Mugiaro . . . . .	.	.	11	.
	LVI. Tower Garzas . . . .	.	.	6	.
	LVII. New tower . . . . .	.	.	2	.
46.	Calle St. Biago, or St. Blas . . . . .	.	.	.	D ^r .
47.	Calle della Ramla . . . .	.	.	.	or Reimla. D ^r .
	LVIII. Battery to the right della Ramla . . . . .	.	.	6	or Sciarra.
	LXIX. R. and Int. della Ramla . . . . .	.	.	5	.

	Names of the different Places.	Depth of Water.		Numb. of Cannon.	Observations.
		Deep.	Shallow.		
LX.	B ^e . to the left della Ramla . . . . .	.	.	6	or Nadun.
LXI.	Tower of Marsal Forno . . . . .	.	.	.
LXII.	Redoubt and battery of St. Paul . . . . .	.	.	.
LXIII.	Battery of Cola Saffra . . . . .	.	.	.
LXIV.	Battery El Cola Balda . . . . .	.	.	.
LXV.	Redoubt Sciani . . . . .	.	.	.
LXVI.	Tower Silendi . . . . .	.	.	.
48.	. . . Calle Silendi . . . . .	.	.	4	In the middle a dangerous rock just below the surface of the water.

No. V.

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL ACT OF DONATION

OF THE

Islands of MALTA and GOZA, and the City of TRIPOLY,

TO THE

KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM,

BY CHARLES THE FIFTH.

FRATER PHILIPPUS DE VILLERS L'ISLE D'ADAM, Sacræ Domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani Magnus Magister humilis, pauperumque Jesu Christi Custos, et nos Conventus Domus ejusdem, venerandis Religiosis, in Christo nobis præcarissimis, Fratri Hugoni de Copons nostri Conventus Draperio, nostrarumque triremium Capitaneo, et Joanni Boniface bajulivatus nostri Manuasæ bajulivo, ac nostri Ordinis receptori generali; Salutem in Domino, et diligentiam in commissis. Cum Cæsarea, et Catholica Majestas sua munificentia nobis, Religionique nostræ concesserit privilegium, cujus tenor sequitur: talis est, NOS CAROLUS QUINTUS, divina favente clementia Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus, Joanna ejus Mater, et idem Carolus Dei gratia Reges Castellæ, Aragonum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, Legionis, Navarræ, Granatæ, Toleti, Valentia, Galitiæ, Majoricarum, Hispalis, Sardinia, Cordubæ, Corsicæ, Mursicæ, Giennis, Algargii, Algerini, Gibraltarris, Insularum Canaria, nec non Insularum Indiarum et terræ firmæ, maris Oceani, Arciduces Austriæ, Duces Bur-

gundiæ et Bravantis, &c. Comites Barchionæ, Flandriæ, et Tirolis, &c. Domini Viscajæ et Molinæ, &c. Duces Athenarum, et Neopatriæ, Comites Rossillionis et Ceritaniæ, Marchionis Oristanæ et Gociani; Cum pro restaurandis, et stabiliendis Conventu, Ordine, et Religione Hospitalis Sti. Joannis Hierosolimitani, et ut admodum Reverendi, Venerabiles, et religiosi nobis plurimum dilecti M. Magister, Priores, Bajulivi, Præceptores et milites dicti Ordinis, qui amissa Rhedo Insula a Turcis longissima et acerrima obsidione violenter occupata, pluribus jam annis vagantes, firmam tandem sedem obtinere, et ea, quæ ad ipsam religionem pertinent, in Christianæ Reipublicæ beneficium retorquere valeant; eorumque vires, et arma contra perfidos Christianæ Religionis hostes viriliter exercere; devotione moti, ac pro eo animi affectu, quo eidem Religioni devincimur, præfatis Magno Magistro, et Ordini sedem quietam, ne ulterius per orbem vagari cogantur, ultro concedere decrevimus, tenore præsentis chartæ nostræ cunctis futuris temporibus firmiter valituræ, de certa scientia, Regiaque auctoritate nostra, et consulto, ac motu proprio per Nos et nostros heredes, et Regnis successores quoscumque prædicto admodum Rev. Magno Magistro, Religioni et Ordini Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani in feudum perpetuum, nobile, liberum et francum civitates, castra, loca, et Insulas nostras Tripolis, Melibeti, et Gaudisii cum omnibus ipsarum civitatum, castrorum, locorum, et Insularum territoriis, jurisdictionibus mero et mixto imperio, jure et proprietate utilis dominii, ac gladii potestate hominibus, et fœminis in eis, et earum terminis habitantibus, et habi-

taturis cujuscumque legis, status, et conditionis, existant, omnibusque aliis juribus et pertinentiis, exemptionibus, privilegiis, proventibus, aliisque immunitatibus, concedimus et liberaliter elargimur; ita ut hujusmodi feudum deinceps teneant, et cognoscant a nobis tanquam Regibus Siciliæ ulterioris, et a successoribus nostris in eodem Regno pro tempore regnantibus, sub censu dumtaxat unius Accipitris seu Falconis, quolibet anno in die festi Omnium Sanctorum præsentandi per personam, seu personas ad id sufficienti mandato suffultas in manibus Viceregis, seu Præsidentis, qui tunc temporis ipsius Regni administrationem et regimen obtinebit, in signum veræ recognitionis dicti feudi; et eo censu mediante, immunes ac exempti remaneant a quocumque alio meliori servitio de jure debito, et per vassallos prestari solito. Cujus tamen feudi investitura in omnem casum novæ successionis renovari, et expediri debeat juxta juris communis dispositionem, teneaturque ipse Magnus Magister qui pro tempore fuerit, pro se, et universo Ordine prædicto in hujusmodi recognitione, et investitura juramentum præstare, quod ex dictis civitatibus, castris, locis, et insulis non patientur, nec permittent fieri damnum, aut præjudicium, vel offensam, nobis, Statuique, Regnis, Dominiis, et subditis nostris, nostrorumque ac in dicto Regno successorum, per mare seu per terram, nec auxilium seu favorem præstabunt cuicumque his damnum inferenti, seu inferre volenti, sed potius omni conatu idipsum avertere curabunt. Et si quispiam ex subditis Regni Siciliæ prædicti reus criminis capitalis,

seu de delictis hujusmodi inculpatus, se absentaverit, et in hujusmodi insulas, et loca infeudata confugerit, dum pro parte Viceregis, seu Præsidentis, vel Magistri justitiarii dicti Regni pro tempore existentis requisiti fuerint, teneantur taliter confugientem, seu profugos expellere, ac inde penitus profligare, exceptis tamen illis, qui aut sacræ Majestatis, aut hæresis rei decernentur, quos non ejicere, sed ad omnem ipsius Viceregis, aut locumtenentis requisitionem capere, et captivos eidem Viceregi, seu Præsidenti remittere teneantur. Præterea, quod jus patronatus episcopatus Melibetani remaneat, prout est, dispositioni, et præsentationi nostræ, ac successorum nostrorum Regni prædicti Siciliæ; ita tamen quod post obitum Reverendi et dilecti Consilarii nostri Balthassaris de Vualtkirk imperialis Vicecancellarii ad ipsam Ecclesiam novissime per nos præsentati, seu in quemcumque casum alium vacationis deinceps secuturum, dictus Magnus Magister, et conventus dicti Ordinis habeant nominare Viceregi Siciliæ tres personas ejusdem Ordinis, quarum una saltem sit, et esse debeat, ex subditis nostris, nostrorum aut in dicto Regno successorum, idoneas et sufficientes ad ipsam pastorem Dignitatem exercendam; ex quibus tribus sic nominandis Nos, nostrique successores in regno prædicto, præsentemus, et præsentent, ac præsentare debeamus et debeant, ad dictum episcopatum, eum quem idoneum, seu idonorem judicaverimus, aut judicaverint. Cui quidem præsentato sic ad dictum episcopatum promotus teneatur Magister prædictus magnam Crucem concedere, eum-

que ad concilium dicti Ordinis cum Prioribus et Bajulivis admittere. Item cum Admiratus dictæ Religionis ex Lingua et Natione Italica esse debeat, congruumque censeatur ut is, qui ejus vices geret, dum absentia seu impedimenti locus occurrerit, si æque idoneus reperiatur ejusdem Linguae, et Nationis existat, habeatur deinceps ratio, ut data paritate idoneitatis is potius ad id munus eligi debeat, qui ejusdem Nationis et Linguae idoneus judicabitur, aut alias talis sit, qui officium suum exerceat, nullique suspectus censeatur. Et quod de omnibus contentis in his tribus articulis præcedentibus fiant statuta, et stabilimenta perpetua in dicto Ordine juxta stylum et morem solitum, cum debita sanctissimi Domini nostri, ac Sedis Apostolicæ approbatione, et auctoritate; et quod dictus Magnus Magister Ordinis præfati, qui nunc est, et pro tempore fuerit, teneatur hujusmodi statutorum, seu stabilimentorum observantiam solemniter jurare, et eam perpetuo et inviolabiliter observare. Ulterius si contigerit ipsam Religionem recuperare Insulam Rhodum, et ea ratione, aut alia ex causa, ipsam Religionem ab hujusmodi Insulis, et locis infeudatis discedere, et alibi mansionem, et sedem eorum stabilire, non liceat ipsis hujusmodi infeudata in aliam quamvis personam quovis titulo sine expresso mandato ipsius dicti Domini et feudalis transferre, seu alienare; sed potius, si sine licentia et consensu alienare præsumpserit, ad nos, nostrosque successores pleno jure revertantur. Item quod tormenta et machinæ quæ in ipsis castro et civitate Tripolis nunc existunt

sub debita inventarii descriptione, ibidem jure commodati per triennium retineri possint ad ipsius civitatis et arcis custodiam ; obligatione tamen valida accedente de hujusmodi tormentis et machinis restituendis ipso triennio lapso, nisi id tempus ex nostra gratia, imminente forsitan necessitate, prorogandum videretur, quo tutius ipsius civitatis et arcis defensionis provideri possit. Et demum vero quod munera, et gratiæ temporales sive perpetuæ, particularibus personis in hujusmodi locis infeudatis factæ, quæ ratione meritorum aut alterius obligationis fuerint concessæ, cujuscumque qualitatis existant, quæ juste non auferri possent sine debita recompensa, tamdiu firmæ maneat, quoad dicto Magno Magistro Conventuique visum fuerit pro eis æquas paresve possessoribus recompensas dare. Et ut in hujusmodi recompensæ æstimatione omnis controversia, quæ suboriri posset, ac litigandi fastidium et impensa auferatur, ubi Magno Magistro Conventuique prædictis commodum visum fuerit cuiuspiam recompensam dare, eligantur duo judices, unus nostro nomine a Vicerege dicti Regni Siciliae ulterioris tunc existente, alter ab ipso Magno Magistro Conventuique, qui summatim et præcise perlectis concessionum privilegiis utriusque partis rationibus, sine alia forma judicii vel processus definiant, quid inter utramque partem jure fieri conveniat: ac si recompensa danda est, statuunt qualis esse jure debeat. Quod si forte duo judices diversæ repugnantisque inter se sententiæ essent, ex utriusque partis consensu assumatur tertius judex ; ac dum judicatur, inquiri-

tur, et recompensa statuitur, possessores prædicti in gratiarum possessione maneant, privilegiisque tamdiu fruantur, quoad satis ipsis factum æque fuerit. Sub quibus quidem conditionibus supra contentis, et descriptis, et non aliter nec alias, præmissa omnia et singula præfatis Magno Magistro, et Conventui, in pheudum prædictum, ut præmittitur, concedentes, sicut melius, plenius, et utilius dici potest et scribi, ad illorum commodum et salvamentum, bonumque sanum et favorabilem intellectum, eadem in dicti Magni Magistri, Conventus, et Religionis jus, dominium utile et posse mittimus atque transferimus, irrevocabiliter pleno jure ad habendum, tenendum, dominandum, omnimodam jurisdictionem exercendum, perpetuoque ac pacifice possidendum. Et ex causa hujusmodi concessionis, et alias prout melius, plenius, et firmitus, de jure valere poterit et tenere, damus, cedimus, et donamus dicto Magno Magistro, Conventui, et Religioni, omnia jura, omnesque actiones reales et personales alias quascunque, quæ nobis competunt, et competere possunt et debent, in prædictis, quæ illis in pheudum sub dictis conditionibus concedimus, ut est dictum, et in aliis ratione et occasione eorundem; quibus juribus et actionibus perpetuo uti possint, et experiri agendo, scilicet defendendo, et alia omnia et singula faciendo et libere exercendo in judicio, et extra quæcumque, et quemadmodum nos facere possemus, nunc et etiam postea quandocumque; et ponentes dictum Magnum Magistrum, Conventum, et Religionem, in prædictis omnibus et

singulis, in locum et vices nostras, constituimus eos veros Dominos, utiles et potentes actores et procuratores, in rem suam propriam; nullo jure, nullaque actione utili in prædictis, quæ illis concedimus, præter superius reservata, nobis aut curiæ nostræ modo aliquo retentis, seu reservatis. Mandantes serie cum præsentī eadem auctoritate nostra, universis et singulis hominibus masculis et fœminis, cujuscumque legis aut conditionis fuerint, in dictis insulis, civitatibus, terris, locis et castris, eorumque territoriis habitantibus et habitaturis quodam modo, dictum Magnum Magistrum Conventumque, et Religionem Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani, pro eorum Domino utili et feudali, ac vero possessore omnium prædictorum, habeant et reputent, suisque mandatis pareant et obediant, prout boni et fideles vassalli eorum Dominis obedire tenentur. Necnon eidem Magno Magistro et Conventui faciant et præstent homagium et fidelitatem, etiam juramentum in similibus præstari solitum; nos etiam nunc pro tunc postquam illi juramenta et homagia ipsa præstiterint, absolvimus et liberamus eos ab omni juramento et homagio, quod nobis, nostrisve prædecessoribus, aut aliis personis nomine nostro, fecerint et præstiterint, obligatique fuerint. Illustrissimo propterea Philippo Asturiarum, Gerundæ, &c. filio primogenito et nepoti nostri carissimo, ac, post felices et longævos dies nostros, in omnibus Regnis et Dominiis nostris, Deo propitio, immediato hæredi, legitimoque successori, intentum apertientes nostrum sub paternæ benedictionis obtentu dicimus;



illustrissimis quibusque Magistris dilectis consiliariis, et fidelibus nostris Proregi, et Capitaneo Generali nostro in dicto ulterioris Siciliae Regno, Magistro judiciario, ejusque in officio locum tenenti, Judicibus nostrae magnae Curiae, Magistris rationabilibus, Magistro portulano, Magistro secreto, Thesaurario, et Conservatori nostri Regii patrimonii, fisciue nostri patrono, Capitaneis arcium, praefectis et custodibus, portulanis, portulanotis, secretis, caeterisque demum universis, et singulis officialibus et subditis nostris in dicto Regno ulterioris Siciliae, et praesertim dictarum Insularum ac civitatis et castri Tripolis, tam praesentibus, quam futuris eadem auctoritate praecipimus et jubemus, ad incursum nostrae indignationis et irae, poenasque untiarum decem millium a bonis secus agentis exigendarum, et nostris inferendarum aëriis; quatenus nostram hujusmodi concessionem et gratiam, omniaque et singula praercontenta, teneant, firmitent, et observent, tenerique et observari faciant inviolabiliter per quoscumque: nec non in possessionem realem et corporalem, seu quasi vacuum, et expeditam, praedictorum omnium quae eidem Magno Magistro et Conventui, ut praedicitur, concedimus, illum aut procuratorem suum illico immitti, et imponi faciat, dictus Prorex noster, per se, aut Commissarium seu Commissarios quos ad id nostro nomine duxerit eligendos; cui, seu quibus, nos omnimodam, serie cum praesenti, quod haec, et quoad stipulationem et executionem, eorumque pro parte dicti Magni Magistri et Conventus supra, complenda et agenda sunt, conferimus potestatem,

vicesque nostras plenarie committimus : et postquam possessio ipsa tradita fuerit, in ea dictum Magnum Magistrum et Conventum manu teneant, et defendant viriliter contra cunctos ; neque fructibus, introitibus, proventibus, Gabellis, et aliis redditibus et juribus quibuscumque prædictorum, quæ supra in pheudum concedimus, responderi faciant per quoscumque. Nos enim ad effectum præsentium, si et quatenus opus sit, supplemus omnes defectus, nullitatem aut viciū, solemnitatūque omissiones, si qui vel quæ possent forsan præmissis apponi, aut suboriri, vel quomodolibet allegari ; super quibus, ex nostræ regiæ potestatis plenitudine, dispensamus. In cujus rei testimonium præsens fieri jussimus nostro communi negotiorum Siciliæ ulterioris sigillo impendenti munitum. Datum in Castello Franco, die xxiii. mensis Martii, tertiæ indictionis, anno a Nativitate Domini mdxix. Regnorumque nostrorum, videlicet Imperii anno decimo, Castellæ, Legionis, Granatæ, &c. vigesimo septimo, Navarræ decimo sexto, Aragonum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, et aliorum decimo quinto ; Regnorum vero omnium decimo quinto. NOS, ut privilegium prædictum et omnia in eo contenta illibata permaneant, et perpetuo observentur, fecimus tria stabilimenta supra contentis in dicto privilegio, prout litteris super inde sub Bulla nostra communi plumbea die xxv. Aprilis proxime præteriti emanatis latius constat, et apparet ; quæ quidem stabilimenta, pro eorum perpetuo et firmiori robore, per Sedem apostolicam approbata et confirmata fuerunt, quemadmodum Litteris

Apostolicis, legitime more solito super id expeditis, sub data Romæ vii. Kal. Maji, 1530 ab incarnatione, Pontificatus Sanctissimi Domini nostri Clementis anno sexto, etiam latissime apparet. Hinc est quod nos Magister, Bajulivi, Priores, Præceptores, et Fratres, Consilium completum in vim Capituli Generalis legitime celebrantes, cupientes juxta mentem præfatae Cæs. majestatis, et tenorem privilegii, possessionem dictorum locorum in eodem privilegio contentorum, ac executorias ad id requisitas et opportunas, consequi, et habere confidentes de fidei probitate, exactissima sedulitate, cura, et sufficientia nostra, invicem maturo et deliberato consilio de nostra certa scientia, omni meliori via, modo, jure, et forma, quibus melius et validius facere possumus et debemus; vos, venerandos confratres nostros, Hugonem de Copons, et Joannem Boniface, præsentis, et onus hujusmodi suscipientes, facimus, creamus, constituimus, et solemniter ordinamus, nostros, nostræque Religionis, et totius Conventus, procuratores, actores, factores, et negotiorum nostrorum gestores, et nuntios generales et speciales, ita quod generalitas specialitati non deroget, nec e contra; videlicet, specialiter et expresse, ad nostro, nostræque Religionis et Conventus, nomine, pro nobis et successoribus nostris promittendum, et efficaciter obligandum cum juramento solemni et requisito, juxta continentiam dicti privilegii, ad observandum, tenendum, et perpetuo custodiendum, omnia et singula in dicto præinserto privilegio contenta; et præsertim ad præstandum sacramentum in manibus Illustrissimi Domini Don.

Hectoris Pignatelli, Ducis Montis Leonis, ac Regni Siciliae dignissimi Proregis, et armorum Capitanei Generalis, in hac parte representantis personam suae praefatae Caesar. et Cathol. Majestatis Regis Siciliae et Insularum adjacentium; nec non ad faciendum stipulationem et obligationem, de restituendo omnia tormenta, quae mediante inventario habebimus, et nobis consignata fuerint, in Arce seu Fortalitio praedicto Tripolis, in termino in dicto privilegio contento, et juxta formam ejusdem. Item ad petendum et obtinendum dictas executorias, ac Commissarios deputandos et destinandos, ad realem, corporalem, civilem et naturalem, pacificam et quietam, possessionem dictorum locorum nobis tradendam et concedendam, et per nos consequendam et adipiscendam, juxta formam et tenorem dicti privilegii imperialis nobis et Religioni nostrae in perpetuum concessi. Dantes et concedentes vobis procuratoribus nostris in praemissis, et circa praemissa, plenissimam et liberam postestatem, totaliterque vices nostras, quarum vigore ea facere et adimplere valeatis, quae nosmet facere et adimplere possemus si praesentes adessemus; etiam si talia essent, quae magis speciale mandatum requirerent quam praesentibus sit expressum. Promittentes et convenientes bona fide habere ratum, gratum, et firmum, omni futuro tempore, quicquid per vos nostros procuratores in praemissis omnibus, et eorum singulis, actum, factum, promissum, obligatum, juratum, gestumve fuerit. Sub hypotheca et obligatione bonorum nostrorum, nostraeque Religionis, praesentium et futurorum, ubi-

que existentium, mandantes, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, universis et singulis dictæ domus nostræ, fratribus quacunque auctoritate, dignitate, officioque fungentibus, præsentibus et futuris, ne contra præsentis nostras procuratorii et mandati litteras aliquatenus facere vel venire præsumant, sed ea inviolabiliter studeant observare. In cujus rei testimonium Bulla nostra communis plumbea præsentibus est appensa. Datum Siracusi, &c. die xxiv. mensis Maji mdcxxx.

No. VI.

*FORM of the OATH taken to the VICEROY of SICILY by the
AMBASSADORS from MALTA, on the 29th of May, 1530.*

WE, brother Hugues de Copons, ensign and captain-general of the galleys belonging to the holy order of Jerusalem, and brother John Boniface, bailiff of Manosca, and receiver-general for the said order, procurators and ambassadors from the most illustrious, most venerable lord, brother Philip de Villiers l'Isle Adam, grand-master of the sacred house of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and of the convent of the order, as well for ourselves, as for all those who shall succeed to that charge, for the whole of the said order, and for ourselves,—Most excellent lord don Hector Pignatello duke of Monteleone, viceroy and captain-general in the present kingdom of Upper Sicily and the adjacent islands, as representative of his Imperial and Catholic majesty Charles, and of the queen Jane, his mother, most serene sovereigns of Sicily ;—we swear before you, and take the usual oath, promising you before God, by the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on the book of the Gospel, in the name of those whose ambassadors we are, as well as for ourselves, to hold, and to acknowledge that we hold, as a feudal tenure, conformably to the conditions contained in the act of donation of his Imperial majesty, the most serene sovereigns, and their suc-

cessors in the said kingdoms, the islands of Malta and Goza, together with the city and castle of Tripoly, which have been lately ceded to the said grand-master ; and to observe and keep every thing more fully described in the said donation and privilege, concluded in presence of the lord Francis Delbose, baron Balida, the king's lieutenant exercising the office of chief justice in this kingdom, of the magnificent don Antonio di Bologna ; Girolamo di Pamia, judge in the high court ; Jaques Bonanns, master of accounts ; Jerome de Rocca, king's lieutenant in the treasury ; and many others. By order of the most illustrious and most excellent lord the viceroy, I, Louis Sanches, have drawn up the present act, in my own handwriting.

No. VII.

POSSESSIONS OF THE ORDER

IN

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

WITH THE NAMES OF THE GRAND-PRIORS.

THOSE who wish to be particularly informed what the knights of St. John of Jerusalem formerly possessed in England may consult the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii. page 541, and the following work—*De Nominibus Fundatorum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia ac Datorum Ecclesiarum Bonorum, &c. &c. Liber Fratris Johannis Stillingfleet.*

There is a very curious manuscript in the British Museum ; —a *court roll* of the possessions of the order, which is acknowledged as authentic, and several tribunals have decided according to its contents. There is likewise in the same collection another valuable work on the same subject, entitled “*Notitia Monastica*, or an Account of all the Abbeys, Priories, and Friaries heretofore in England and Wales, founded before the year 1540, by the Rev. Thomas Tanner;” and published by John Tanner, in London, in folio, 1744. In this work it appears, that the revenue of the principal house belonging to the order in London, amounted, at the Reformation, to two thousand three hundred and eighty-five pounds, twelve shil-

lings and eight pence, sterling; and that they in the whole possessed forty-eight houses, twenty-eight of which, according to this author, brought in two hundred and eighty-four pounds sterling per annum.

The following is an exact account of the possessions of the order in Ireland.—

*Possessions belonging to the Order of Malta in Ireland, before the Abolition of the Religious Orders,
by Henry VIII.*

Counties wherein the Benefices were situated.	Names of the Benefices.	Names of the Founders.	When founded.	Names of the Purchasers, and present Possessors.
County of Dublin.	{ * † KILMAINHAM, near Dublin; priory of St. John the Baptist.	{ Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke.	{ About 1174.	Several different persons.
	{ CLONTARF; commandery of St. Congal.	{ King Henry II. for the use of the Templars; after which it fell to the Hospitallers.	{ 12th century.	{ Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Present possessor, John Vernon, esq.
County of Kildare.	{ KILBEGS commandery; KILHEEL commandery; TULLY commandery.	{ Morice Fitzgerald.	{ 13th century.	{ John Allen; now David Sutton.
County of Wexford.	{ † WEXFORD; commandery of St. John and St. Bridget. This was the grand priory of the Hospitallers till the suppression of the Templars; at which time the grand-priory was removed to Kilmainham.	{ William, marshal, earl of Pembroke.	{ 12th century.	
	{ KILCLOGAN; commandery, first of the Templars, and afterwards of the Hospitallers.	{ D. Mones.	{ 13th century.	Sir Adam Loftus.
	{ BALLY-HEWK, or Ballycauk; commandery of St. John the Baptist, subordinate to that of Kilclogan.	{	{	{ William Keating, commander of Kilclogan and Bally-Hewk, at the time of their dissolution.

* The priories and commanderies marked with a †, had the right of sitting in parliament.

Countries wherein the Benefices were situated.	Names of the Benefices.	Names of the Founders.	When founded.	Names of the Purchasers, and present Possessors.
County of Carlow. . . .	{ Killergy; commandery of St. John the Baptist. First Templars; since Hospitallers.	{ Gilbert de Borard.	13th century.	Sir Gerard Aylmer.
Liberty of Meath.	{ KILMAINHAM-BEG, near Nobhir commandery.	{ Walter de Lacy, lord of Midie.	12th century.	{ Patrick Barnewall, <i>terminor</i> , that is to say, tenant on lease.
County of Louth.	{ KILMAINHAM-WOOD commandery. Prestons.	13th century.		Sir Thomas Plunket.
County of Down.	{ KILSARAN commandery; first Templars, since Hospitallers.	{ Maud Lacy.	12th century.	
	{ Territory of ARDES; commandery of St. John the Baptist.	{ Hugh de Lacy.	12th century.	At present Castle-boy.
	{ KILBARRY commandery.	. . . . .	12th century.	{ Thomas earl of Ormond, now Thomas Wading.
County of Waterford. . . .	{ KILLARA commandery. Both first belonged to the Templars, and afterwards to the Hospitallers.	. . . . .	12th century.	{ Francis Gofton; now Laws lord Esmond.
	{ CROOK commandery; ditto.	. . . . .	13th century.	{ Sir John Davis; now Richard Aylworth.
	{ RTH-CRIOCH, otherwise Temple Michael.	{ According to tradition, a house belonging to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.	. . . . .	{ Sir Walter Raleigh; now earl of Cork.
County of Cork.	{ MORNE, MORS, or Ballynemony; commandery of St. John the Baptist.	{ Alexander de St. Helens founded and adorned it.	13th century.	{ Teague MacCarthy, on lease: is now joined to the deanery of St. Matthew.

Counties wherein the Benefices were situated.	Names of the Benefices.	Names of the Founders.	When founded.	Names of the Purchasers, and present Possessors.
County of Lime- rick. . .	{ Any commandery of St. John the Baptist.	{ Geoffry de Mariscis.	13th century.	{ Richard Harding, on lease.
County of Tippe- rary. . .	{ CLONMEL commandery; first the Templars, since Hospitallers.	{ . . . . .	. . . . .	{ . . . . .
County of Gal- way. . .	{ KINALEKIN; commandery of St. John the Baptist.	{ O'Flagherties.	13th century.	{
County of Sligo.	{ TEAGUE - TEMPLE commandery; first Templars, since Hospital- lers.	{	13th century.	{

No. VIII.

L I S T

OF THE

P R I O R S

OF THE

GRAND PRIORIES OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

ENGLAND.

1. BROTHER JOHN BUIBRUS, in the year 1327.
2. Br. Robert Dallis, in the year 1380, incurred blame for not paying exactly what he owed to the treasury.
3. Br. Robert Boutil, in the year 1446.
4. Br. Thomas Sequipont, in the year 1410, was commander of Cyprus, and turcopolier.
5. Br. William d'Aunay, turcopolier in the year 1453.
6. Br. Robert Long, in the year 1466, turcopolier.
7. Br. John Weston, in the year 1470, turcopolier and general of the galleys.
8. Br. John Quendal, in the year 1477, turcopolier.
9. Br. Thomas de Newport, in the year 1500, turcopolier.
10. Br. Robert Daniel, in the year 1506, turcopolier.

11. Br. John Bona, one of the four captains who guarded the quarters of the city of Rhodes during the siege in 1522; he also guarded the German and English quarters.
12. Br. N. Weston, in the year 1523.
13. Br. John Ranson, turcopolier, prior of Ireland in the year 1523.
14. Br. N. Babington, turcopolier, commander de *Divemar*, in 1527.
15. Br. Thomas d'Ocroy, died in 1528.
16. Br. William Weston, grand-prior in 1533, acquainted the grand-master with the falsehoods and invectives written by the turcopolier West, to the king of England. He died in 1540.
17. Br. Clement West, turcopolier: being disobedient and of an evil disposition, was deprived of the habit and imprisoned in 1533; and replaced by
18. Br. Roger Boyd, turcopolier in 1533.
19. Br. John de la Roche Andry, turcopolier in 1536, and bailiff of the Morea.
20. Br. Egidius Rosselet, turcopolier 1543.
21. Br. Nicholas Repton, turcopolier, died fighting against the Turks, in 1552.
22. Br. Oswald Massinbert, last turcopolier in 1553.
23. Br. Richard Solci, made grand-prior by cardinal Pole, and was the last possessed of that dignity.

IRELAND.

1. Br. James Hetting, deprived of his priory for not going to the relief of Rhodes besieged in 1480, and replaced by
2. Br. Marmaduke Lumley, in 1480.
3. Br. John Riquitan, in 1527.
4. Br. John Ransom, died in 1547.
5. Br. Oswald Massinbert.

NOTE.—This list being taken from Goussancourt's Martyrology, it is to be feared the English names are not very correct.

No. IX.

*A Chronological and Historical TABLE of the principal Hospitals and
Commanderies belonging to the Hospitaller Dames of the Order of
St. John of Jerusalem.*

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies: Countries in which they were situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
St. Mary Magdalen } —Jerusalem, in } Palestine.	1099.	{ Agnés, a Roman lady.	{ The institution of hospitaller nuns of the order of St. John of Je- rusalem, is of as ancient date as that of the order itself*. The ho- spital of St. John, under the direc- tion of Gerard, was built at Jeru- salem, near St. Mary the Latin's church, at the same time that another for women was erected near the same church, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. The fate of these hospitaller ladies, after the capture of Jerusalem, is entirely unknown.
Buckland—in Eng- } land.	1180.	{ Henry II. king of England.	{ Henry II. assembled together all the hospitaller ladies of the order of St. John, who had before resided in five or six different places in Eng- land, and fixed them all in one spot, where they remained till the reign of Henry VIII. †
			{ These ladies followed the rules of the order of St. Augustin, modi- fied in some degree by Raymond Berenger, provisor of the order‡. Pope Clement III. confirmed these rules by a bull in the year 1193.
			{ They occupied separate apart- ments during the day, but ate at the same table, and slept in the same dormitory.

* See Father Heliot, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*; and Baudin, *Vie des Saints de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem*.

† See *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

‡ Vertot. *Père Heliot*.

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies : Countries in which they are situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
Sixene—in Spain, between Sarago- sa and Lerida. }	1187.	{ Queen Sancha, the daughter of Al- phonso, second king of Arragon.	<p>They bestowed the habit on ten priests and a prior, who performed divine service in their church.</p> <p>The superior appeared at all the provincial chapters in the kingdom of Arragon, where she had a vote, and took her place next the castellan of Emposta.</p> <p>In 1470, these ladies withdrew their allegiance from the grand-master, and acknowledged no other superior than the pope; but in 1569 they renewed their oath of obedience to the grand-master, and engaged to send a silver cup to the common treasury at the election of every grand-master.</p> <p>The air of Sixene being unwholesome, pope Gregory XIII. granted permission, in 1575, to all nuns who were indisposed, to quit the monastery, and remain with their relations till their health was perfectly re-established.</p> <p>The rules of the order exacting that all the nuns should be interred in the burying-place at Sixene, the corpse of any one who died out of the convent was always brought thither, and was met in a particular spot by the hospitaller ladies, who went out in procession to receive it. The face of the deceased being uncovered, those who bore the body were obliged to make oath, that it was verily and truly the corpse of the said nun.</p>

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies : Countries in which they were situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
The Temple of St. John of Carraria —at Pisa, in the duchy of Tus- cany, in Italy.	1200.	.	This monastery boasts that Saint Ubaldesque was one of its mem- bers.
Algaira—Catalonia in Spain.	1212.	{ Sorin de Torba, and Elsa de la Gardia.	The convent is situated on a high mountain, at the foot of which runs a river, called Riva Corea.
Genoa—in Italy.	1230.	.	A lady of the name of Ortat, dis- tinguished for her eminent virtues, took the habit of St. Hugues, com- mander of that place.
Antioch—in Syria, Asia.	{ Rather be- fore 1260. }	.	The city of Antioch being taken by the soudan of Egypt in 1265, the nuns of the order of St. John cut off their noses, to preserve them- selves from the brutal attempts of the infidels. They, together with 40,000 Christians, were entirely ex- terminated.
Beaulieu—in Quer- cy, France.	1259.	{ Guibert de Thé- mines.	The superior was present at the provincial chapter of the order, held in 1298, in the commandery of Tron- quière, where the grand-master, Vila- ret, was likewise present. He subject- ed the hospital of Beaulieu and that of Fieux to be visited and corrected by the grand-priors of St. Gilles ; and appointed the prioress grand- prioress of all the female convents of that order throughout France. He also ordained that the other mo- nasteries should pay her a year's rent by way of acknowledgment. In a general chapter of the or- der held at Lemnos, in Cyprus, he confirmed all the above statutes*.

* 1301.

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies: Countries in which they were situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
			<p>St. Flora de Villeneuve and the blessed Gourdon Genouillac Vailac were nuns in this convent. The latter greatly reformed the Beaulieu monastery, which subsisted but a very few years after her death*.</p> <p>Before her time, it had ever been the custom for all men who visited the convent to embrace the nuns on their entrance.</p> <p>The hospitallers of Beaulieu who refused to submit to the reforms, passed from under the jurisdiction of the grand-prior of St. Gilles to that of the bishop of Cahors in 1678 and 1703.</p>
Fieux—in Quercy, France.	1298.	{ The lords of Baras- con and Themines.	{ This hospital was united to that of Beaulieu in the beginning of the seventeenth century.
Verona—in the re- public of Venice, Italy.	{ Towards the year 1330.	{ . . .	{ Sainte Tuscany was a nun in this monastery.
Caspe—Spain.	{ About the year 1380.	{ The grand-master Heredia.	
Florence—in the grand duchy of Tuscany, Italy.	1392.	{ The grand-prior, Caraccioli.	{ This hospital was usually called Joannin.
Seville—Spain.	1490.	Isabella of Leon.	{ This princess took the habit, and was prioress of the convent.
Evora—Portugal.	1509.	{ Isabella Fernan- dez.	{ This princess was the first com- mendatory.
Civita de Penna.	1523.	{ Julien Ridolphi, grand-prior of Pisa.	

* Among forty nuns, six only joined themselves to her, and took the oath of perpetual enclosure.

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies: Countries in which they were situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
Estremos—Portugal.	1540.	The infant of Portugal, don Lewis, administrator of the grand-priorat of Portugal.	The same infant founded a house or college at Fior de Roses, for thirty chaplains of the order.
St. Ursula—Malta.	.	.	<p>The ladies in this convent were not obliged to produce proofs of nobility.</p> <p>The ladies who had submitted to mother Vaillac's reforms*, being persecuted by those who had refused to adopt them, quitted Beaulieu. Upon which the grand-master de Paulo built a convent for their reception at his own expence, and allowed out of the common treasury a pension of a hundred crowns to each nun. This the order afterwards redeemed, by funding a certain sum in lieu of the above annuity.</p> <p>The nuns, to the number of six, took possession of their new convent on the 13th of September, 1628; and the grand-master took upon himself the title of their superior. The other houses depended on the grand-priors, in whose jurisdiction they were situated.</p> <p>The nuns wished to establish an hospital, to which the order would not consent, without giving any solid reason for their refusal.</p>

* Father Bonani is guilty of a mistake in his Catalogue of Religious Orders, when he says, that mother Vaillac founded a particular congregation of poor women in France, under the title of Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; since she only reformed that order in France.

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies: Countries in which they were situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
Toulouse—in Lan- guedoc, France.	{ 1612; ap- proved in 1625.	The grand-master, Paulo.	<p>The regulations and constitution of this house were approved by a bull of the grand-master, Lascaris, dated the 14th of June, 1644.</p> <p>These regulations are contained in ten chapters; in the fourth of which, relative to the election of a prioress, it is ordained that, instead of being perpetual, as formerly, a fresh prioress is to be chosen every three years.</p> <p>The sixth treats of the reception of novices, and mentions three kinds of persons who are admissible into the order, with the different conditions on which they are to be received.</p> <p>Those called <i>Sisters of Justice</i> must make their proofs in the same manner as the knights. Those termed <i>Serving Sisters of the Office</i> only require the same proofs as the <i>Serving Brothers of Arms</i>; and the <i>Lay Sisters</i> were employed in the service of the convent.</p> <p>A thousand crowns, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling, was the sum required for the <i>passage</i> of an <i>aspirer</i> to a <i>Sister of Justice</i> (that is to say, for a novice to be received a <i>Sister of Justice</i>); and five hundred crowns for a <i>Serving Sister of the Office</i>.</p> <p>Each of the sisters was obliged to furnish her own chamber, and to provide linen; likewise to purchase the habit worn during her noviciate, and the first habit</p>

Names of the Hospitals and Commanderies: Countries in which they were situated.	Year of their Foundations.	Names of the Founders.	Historical Remarks.
Martel—in Quercy.	<div> <div>The begin- ning of the 17th cen- tury.</div> <div></div> </div>	Mirandol.	<p>after she was professed. This, according to the constitutions, must consist of a gown or cassock, long enough to cover the feet, but not to hang on the ground, with full sleeves. The prioress wears the grand cross made of fine linen, sewed on the gown close to the breast. The other nuns wear a small one on the left side near the heart; also a large white cross on the cloak or <i>manteau à bec</i>.</p> <p>The prioress, the chapter, or the council, had the privilege of bestowing the small cross, provided the person was arrived at the age of thirty years.</p> <p>The Hospitallers were established by the Mirandol nuns of the monastery of St. John at Toulouse. They were under the immediate dependence of the grand-master, and followed the same regulations and had the same constitution as the ladies at Toulouse; with this only difference, that the office of superior at Martel was perpetual, whilst at Toulouse the superior was elected once in three years.</p>
<div> <div>Canoness of Malta</div> <div>—Dauphiné, in</div> <div>France.</div> </div>		Queen of France.	<p>This foundation was made under the auspices of the queen of France, and was indeed destroyed before it was entirely completed.</p>



A. Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

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No. X.

*The CEREMONY of CLOTHING and PROFESSING a HOSPITAL-
TALLER NUN of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.*

THE priest having said the offertory of the mass, and blessed the habit of the nun who was about to take the vows, the person who was appointed to receive her addressed her in the following terms :

“ Sister, what do you request ? ”

To which she answered, “ I request to be admitted into the society of religious sisters of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.”

He then demanded whether she had ever before received that order from any other person ; and on her answering in the negative, he thus continued :

“ Although what you request be of the greatest importance, and is not granted to all, your demand may perhaps be complied with, when you shall have promised to observe every thing you shall be ordered by us to perform ; and first, we enjoin you to be diligent in the service of God, and in his religion.—Do you promise this ? ”

Novice. “ Yes, sir.”

Receiver. “ Since you have made this promise, take this rosary in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy

Ghost, and make use of it in your prayers, for the encrease of this holy religion, for the prosperity of the most eminent lord the grand-master, all the brother knights, and other members of our sacred order, and for victory over the Turks and infidels, the persecutors of the church of God. Offer, then, your soul to God, and your body to perform the fatiguing offices of this life, in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ; and God grant you his grace so to do. The purity of this rosary implies that a good nun ought to be pure of heart, free from all vice, and, above all things, honest; since honesty is always accompanied by the four following virtues:—1. *Prudence*, which calls to remembrance the past, regulates the present, and provides for the future. 2. *Justice*, which ensures the safety of the public concerns entrusted to your care. 3. *Courage*, which will enable you to support the pains of this world, in the same manner as St. John the Baptist, under whose name and ensigns you will order your life; that as he overcame the world, the flesh, and the devil, and feared not to preach the doctrine of truth, you, after his example, may constantly follow the Divine will and pleasure, and, in case of need, prove your courage and magnanimity. 4. *Temperance*, which will teach you moderation on all occasions, so that you may merit the title of a perfect nun:—and being thus provided and adorned with all these virtues, you may ever prize them properly, and retain them in your memory. Awake, then, my sister, do not slumber when attacked by vicious inclinations,

but be vigilant in the faith of Christ Jesus, to obtain a good and worthy reputation ; and ever remain attentive to good prayers and orisons."

He then presented her a lighted taper, saying, " Take this taper, and with it the grace of the Holy Ghost ; go, and listen to the remaining part of the mass."

The priest then proceeded to finish the mass ; and the novice, having communicated, returned to the person who was to receive her, when he repeated—" Sister, what do you request ?" To which she answered, " I request the society and company of the sisters of the holy order of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem."

The receiver then said : " Your request is of great importance, and not granted to all ; but it may not, perhaps, be refused to you, in the confidence that, with love and charity, you will exercise works of mercy for the service of the hospital, and of your order, to which the holy apostolical see, together with other christian princes, have granted immunities and revenues ; so that the servants of God and of the order, enflamed by the spirit of true charity, the mother of every virtue, may perform the double duty of hospitality and warfare, in order to defend the holy catholic faith against all its enemies ; and by thus serving it with affection and fidelity, they may receive the reward of eternal life : in the same manner as you, having observed the commandments of God, of the church, and of our order, will be clothed in the robe of righteousness,

and be prepared for the joys of Paradise. It would be too tedious to relate all the different pains which must be endured by the sisters of our order ; suffice it to say, that they are all comprised in one article, which is, that you must entirely divest yourself of all free will, and subject yourself to the control of her who shall be named your superior, who being a woman like yourself, and very probably in a different situation of life, you may find it difficult to obey.—Are you then resolved to abide by these conditions ?”

The novice replied, “ Yes, sir, I am resolved.”

The receiver then continued : “ Since you have thus divested yourself of all free will, we wish to know whether you were at liberty so to do ? Take care then to answer truly to all that shall be required and asked of you.” On which he enquired whether she had taken the vows in any other order, whether she were married, had bound herself to pay any considerable sums, or had committed homicide. Being answered in the negative, he said, “ Be careful, my sister, for if at any time it shall be discovered that you have disguised the truth, you will be stripped of the habit with infamy, and cut off from the society like a rotten member ; but if the fact is as you state it, we receive you kindly, according to the form of our statutes, promising you only bread and water, with the most humble vestments.”

After this ceremony, the nuns sang the anthem *Veni Sponsa Christi*, and walked in procession round the cloister,

conducting the novice, who held a branch of palm-tree in her hand, and was placed next the prioress. The procession over, the novice, in presence of all who assisted at the ceremony, was stripped of her rich habit, which was generally adorned with precious stones. She had likewise other jewels, which she still continued to keep in her hand after she was undressed. She then stood up, and twice repeated in a loud voice, "*Vanitas vanitatum*;" then speaking in a still higher voice, she again said, "*Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*," and threw the jewels into a basin placed at her feet. The prioress assisted the superior in cutting off her hair, and she took the habit of the order. The novice then pronounced her vows in the following manner, placing her hands on the crucifix which the officiating canon held forth to her, with the missal:

"I, N. promise and vow to Almighty God, to the Virgin Mary, his immaculate mother, and to St. John the Baptist, our patron, to be perfectly obedient to the nun who shall be chosen my superior, to live without any private property, and to preserve my chastity, according to the rules of the said order."

The receiver answered, "I now acknowledge you really received into the community of our holy sisters." To which she replied, "I esteem myself as such."

The receiver then continued: "For the future, we make you and your relations partakers of all the indulgences and favours granted to our order by the holy apostolical see; and as a

proof of your obedience, I command you to place this missal on the altar, and afterwards bring it back to me."

After she had obeyed this order, he added, "We also require that you should be very attentive to the orisons, and for that purpose that you should every day repeat the grand office, according to the order of the holy church, the council of Trent, and the custom observed in this convent, with either a hundred and fifty paternosters, the lesser offices of our lady, or the service for the dead for every brother or sister who shall happen to die." Then pointing to the cloak, or mantle, he said, "This is your habit, the emblem of your penitence; since it represents the hard and cruel life passed by our patron, St. John the Baptist; it also represents his habit, which was of camel's hair, signifying that we must quit the trammels of sin, and follow, without hinderance, the path of virtue." He then pointed to the sleeves, saying, "These sleeves must restrain and bind you to your duty, that is, to the true obedience you owe the superior, to the observance of hospitality, and the other works of charity, in the manner it has already been enjoined you." He next exhibited the cross—"This is the sign and form of the true cross, which I command you to wear constantly on your habit all your life. This white cross shews that all our actions should be pure and innocent. *These eight points signify the eight beatitudes which are promised us, if we

* See St. Matthew, chap. v.

wear this sign with real fervour; for this purpose it is placed on the left side, that you may have it always at your heart, and that you may be buried with it." He next shewed the string, saying, "This string should frequently call to remembrance the bitter death and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. That which ties the cloak, signifies the cord with which Christ was bound. This is the scourge, the pillar, the sponge, and this the cross on which, out of love to you, he suffered an ignominious death. He then proceeded to tie the string around her neck, adding, "Take then, my sister, the "yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is easy and light, and "will bring you to eternal life, for ever and ever. So be it." On putting on the black veil, he said, "Receive, my sister, "the holy veil of virginity, which will bring you to eternal life, "for ever and ever. So be it."

The professed nun then returned to the altar, to receive the priest's blessing, who repeated over her some prayers, after which she embraced the nuns; and before she ate, went to pay obedience in the refectory with bread, water, and salt.

The nuns formerly wore a red robe with a black mantle *à bec*, on which was a white cross with eight points: but since the taking of Rhodes by the Turks, their habit has been entirely black, as a token of mourning.

No. *X.

L E T T E R

OF

CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND,

TO THE

GRAND-MASTER OF MALTA.

Carolus II. Dei Gratia Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, et Ibernia,
Rex, Fidei Defensor, Eminentissimo Principi Domino
Nicolao Cotoner, Magno Ordinis Melitensis Magistro, Con-
sanguineo et Amico nostro Charissimo, salutem.

Eminentissime Princeps, Consanguinee et Amice
noster Charissime.

Non solum per litteras Joannis Narbrough Equitis aurati,
quem classibus nostris in mari Mediterraneo admirabili jure ac
potestate præfecimus, sed aliunde quoque intelleximus, quam
benigne Eminèntia Vestra, vestroque jussu et exemplo totus Sa-
cer Ordo Melitensis illum, aliosque navium nostrarum bellicarum
rectores tractaverit, ita ut domi et in armamentariis nostris
melius quam in portu vestri Melitensi haberi non possent. Magnæ
quidem hoc est amicitia indicium, eoque majoris, quod regna
et maria nostra ab usitata Sacri Ordinis Melitensis navigatione

tam longe distent, ut Eminentia Vestrae humanitati in hac parte respondendi, rarissimæ nobis occasiones expectandæ sint. Alius igitur modus exquirendus est, quo gratitudinem nostram et affectum erga Eminentiam vestram suæque sacrae Militiæ socios pro merito notificemus. Quod ut faciamus, omnes opportunitates quandocumque obvenerint, libentissime amplectemur, studiosissime prosequemur. Eminentiam interim vestram totumque Ordinem Melitensem Dei optimi maximi tutelæ ex animo commendamus. Dabantur in Palatio nostro Whitehalli, die 26 Januarii, 1676.

No. XI.

*Copy of a LETTER from his CATHOLIC MAJESTY'S MINISTER
for the Marine Department, to the BAILIFF DE FRESLON,
General of the Galleys of Malta.*

Most excellent Lord,

THE king my master is most truly satisfied with the zeal, valour, and exactness, with which your excellence, the commanders, officers *caravanists*, and crews of the galleys belonging to the order of St. John, have assisted the combined armament commanded by general Don Antonio Barcelo at the bombarding of Algiers. His majesty has given me orders to express to your excellence, and likewise to the grand-master, as I have already done, his sentiments of such extraordinary merit, which he will not fail to reward; and of this I feel much pleasure in informing your excellence, in answer to your letter of the 27th of last July. At the same time, I beg leave to inform you, that, the expedition being over, your excellence may proceed to fulfil any other commissions given you by the order; but if, without prejudice to their safety, the galleys could remain the rest of the summer on our coast and near our islands, cruising at pleasure against the Algerines, it would be particularly agreeable to his Catholic majesty.

May God take your excellence under his holy protection!
prays, most excellent lord,

the friend and servant

of your excellence,

*St. Ildefonso,
August the 3d, 1784.*

FRA. ANT. VALDES.

No. XII.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

GRAND-MASTER OF MALTA,

DATED THE 1st OF OCTOBER, 1793.

THE court of Naples having notified to the grand-master of the sovereign order of Malta, that, being resolved to have no connection with the French government, it had sent away all those agents who had till then resided near his Sicilian majesty, or in any of his ports; his most eminent highness eagerly embraced this opportunity of shutting the port of Malta against all ships of war. By this authentic act, the grand-master meant to declare, that he would not maintain any connection with France since the dreadful troubles which had taken place in that kingdom, and which had deprived it of a sovereign universally regretted.

The law of nations being in all respects violated in France, and particularly in every thing relative to the order of Malta, those who were not perfectly well acquainted with the fundamental laws of the order were induced to believe, that the grand-master ought to have made reprisals at an earlier period; but the above-mentioned laws compelled him to remain neuter: besides, the grand-master did not wish to place himself in a

situation which would oblige him to acknowledge the pretended French republic. To avoid this inconvenience, his most eminent highness had given orders, on the 15th of March, to the chevalier Seytres-Caumont, residing at Malta as chargé-d'affaires from Lewis XVI. of glorious memory, to continue as before to act for the affairs of France*. In consequence of which, *the said chevalier was always acknowledged as chargé-d'affaires from France to Malta*; and he still exercised the same functions, under the protection of the grand-master. Things being in this situation, his most eminent highness was not a little surprised to learn, by indirect means, that a person named Eimer was appointed to succeed the chevalier de Seytres-Caumont, and that he was actually on his road to Malta. His most eminent highness therefore declared, *that he would not receive nor admit into his dominions the said person*, nor indeed any other that should be sent to reside in Malta as agent of the pretended French republic; which the grand-master neither ought, could, nor would, acknowledge.

* According to the title he had received from the late king, and as such to continue to have the arms of France over his door.

No. XIII.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY *to the* COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED
and that of the ANCIENTS,

ON THE 13TH MESSIDOR, YEAR 6. (JULY 1, 1798.)

Citizens Representatives,

THE government of Malta has for a long time past dared to manifest the most hostile intentions against France; it has boldly received, and greatly favoured, not only the emigrants who have retired to Malta, but those among the knights who have served in the army of Condé.

The nature of its constitution demands the strictest neutrality; but at the very moment when it publicly professed to preserve it, permission was granted to Spain, while at war with us, to recruit sailors in Malta; and the same permission has since been given to England, though it has constantly been refused to France in the most offensive manner. Whenever any Maltese or French residing in Malta appeared attached to the French cause, they were cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, and treated like the vilest criminals. The hatred of an inconsiderable state towards the French republic could not well be

H H 2

carried to greater lengths ; yet the grand-master has declared, in his manifesto of the 10th of October, 1793, that the king of Naples having notified to him his situation in regard to the war, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of shutting his ports against all French vessels. He even went still further ; and declared in the same manifesto, that the French agent then residing in Malta should in future be entirely regarded as *chargé-d'affaires* from the king of France ; and concluded by saying, that having understood there was a new envoy on the road to Malta, he would neither receive nor admit into his dominions such a person, nor indeed any other as agent from the pretended French republic, which the grand-master (his own words), *neither ought, could, nor would, acknowledge.*

The government of Malta could not certainly, at that period, prove itself more inimical to France ; and this state of warfare has never ceased to subsist.

On the 21st Prairial, in the same year, the commander of the French forces in those seas requested permission to take in water at the different watering-places in the island : but this was refused in the most evasive manner ; the grand-master alleging, that he could not permit more than two transports to enter at the same time*, so that it would necessarily have taken up more than three hundred days to have furnished the whole of the French troops with water. What effrontery

* This is false ; four was the number specified which might enter the grand port.

thus to insult an army of the republic, commanded by general Bonaparte !

On the morning of the 22d Prairial the French troops landed on all the different points of the island, and in the course of the same day the place was invested on all sides. The cannon from the city kept up a very brisk fire. The besieged made a sally, when the colours of the order were taken by the chief of brigade Marmont, at the head of the 9th brigade.

On the 24th in the morning the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem gave up the city and the forts of Malta to the French republic; and likewise ceded to the said republic their right of sovereignty and that of proprietors, not only in Malta, but in the islands of Goza and Cumino.

The republic made the acquisition in Malta of two men-of-war, one frigate, four galleys, twelve hundred pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, forty thousand musquets, and many other articles not yet particularised to the republic.

(Signed)

REWBELL, President.

LA GARDE, General Secretary.

No. XIV.

FIRST CAPITULATION

OF

M A L T A.

ARTICLE I.—The knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army; at the same time renouncing in favour of the French republic all right of property and sovereignty over that island, as also over those of Goza and Cumino.

ART. II.—The French republic shall employ all its credit at the congress of Rastadt to procure a principality for the grand-master, equivalent to the one he gives up; and the same republic engages to pay him, in the mean time, an annual pension of three hundred thousand French livres, besides two annats of the pension by way of indemnification for his personals. He shall also be treated with the usual military honours during the whole of his stay in Malta.

ART. III.—The French knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem actually resident at Malta, if acknowledged as such by the commander in chief, shall be permitted to return

to their native country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, that this third article may remain in force for the knights of those several nations.

ART. IV.—The French republic shall assign an annual pension of seven hundred French livres to those whose ages exceed sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, to grant the same pension to the knights of their respective countries.

ART. V.—The French republic shall employ its credit with the different powers, that the knights of each nation may be allowed to exercise their right over the property of the order of Malta situated in their dominions.

ART. VI.—The knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or Goza.

ART. VII.—The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Goza shall be allowed, as heretofore, the free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion. Their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, nor shall they be subject to any *extraordinary* taxes.

ART. VIII.—All civil acts passed during the government of the order shall remain valid.

Done and concluded on board the Orient before Malta, on the 24th Prairial, the 6th year of the French republic (12th June, 1798).

The commander *Boisredon de Ransijat* (who had forsaken the order).

The bailiff <i>Marie Testa-Ferrata</i> ,	} all Maltese.
Doctor <i>John Nies Muscat</i> ,	
Doctor <i>Benoit Schembri</i> ,	
Counsellor <i>Bonani</i> ,	

The bailiff *de Turin-Frisari*, without prejudice to the right of dominion belonging to my sovereign the king of the Two Sicilies.

Chevalier *Philip Amak*.

No. XV.

SECOND CAPITULATION

OF

M A L T A.

ARTICLE I.—The garrison of Malta and the forts dependent thereon shall march out to be embarked for Marseilles on the day and hour appointed, with all the honours of war, such as drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, having at their head two four-pounders with their carriages, artillery-men to serve them, and a waggon for the infantry. The civil and military officers of the navy, together with every thing belonging to that department, shall equally be conducted to the port of Toulon.

Ans.—The garrison shall receive the above-requested honours of war; but subject to the following arrangement, in case it be found impossible to embark the whole of the troops immediately.

As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the two forts of Ricasoli and Tigné shall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic majesty, and the vessels allowed to enter the port. The national gate shall have a guard, composed of an equal number of French and English, till the transports shall

be ready to take on board the first embarkation of troops ; when the whole of the garrison shall file off with all the honours of war as far as the sea-shore, where they shall ground their arms. Those who cannot embark in the first transports shall remain in the isle and fort Manuel, with an armed guard, to prevent any one going into the interior of the island. The garrison shall be regarded as prisoners of war, and cannot serve against his Britannic majesty till the exchange shall have taken place ; and the respective officers shall give their parole for this purpose. All the artillery, ammunition, and public stores of every description, shall be delivered up to officers appointed for that purpose, together with inventories and public papers.

ART. II.—The general of brigade Chanez, commandant of the city and forts ; the general of brigade d'Hannedel, commandant of the artillery and engineers ; the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers ; the officers, troops, crews, and all others employed in the navy ; citizen Pierre Alphonse Guys, general commissary of trade for the French republic in Syria and Palestine (at that time at Malta with his family ;) those employed in civil and military capacities ; the commissioners of the army and navy, the civil administrators, and members of whatsoever description of the constituent authority ; shall take with them their arms, their personals, and all their property.

Granted.—Excepting the soldiers grounding their arms,

as mentioned in the first article. The non-commissioned officers shall keep their sabres.

ART. III.—All those who bore arms in the service of the republic during the siege, of whatsoever nation they may happen to be, shall be regarded as making part of the garrison.—*Granted.*

ART. IV.—The division shall be embarked at the expence of his Britannic majesty, each person receiving during his passage the pay of his rank, according to the French regulation. The officers and members of the civil administration, with their families, shall also receive a salary in proportion to the pay of the military, and according to the dignity of their office.

Granted.—Conformably to the custom of the British navy, which grants the same pay to every individual of whatsoever degree and condition.

ART. V.—A proper number of waggons and shallops shall be provided for transporting and shipping the personals belonging to the generals, their aides-du-camp, commissaries, chiefs of different corps, officers, citizen Guys, civil and military administrators of the army and navy, together with the papers belonging to the councils of the civil and military administrators of the army and navy; also those of the councils of the administrators of the different corps, the commissaries of both army and navy, the paymaster of the division, and all others employed in the civil and military administration. These effects and

papers to be subject to no kind of inspection, being guarantied by the generals as containing neither public nor private property.—*Granted.*

ART. VI.—All vessels belonging to the republic, in sailing condition, shall depart at the same time as the division for a French port, after being properly victualled for the voyage.—*Refused.*

ART. VII.—The sick capable of being removed shall embark with the division, and be provided with medicines, surgical instruments, provisions, and necessary attendants to take care of them during the passage: those whose state of health obliges them to remain in Malta shall be properly treated, and the commander in chief shall leave a French physician and surgeon to attend them. When they shall be able to leave the hospital, they shall be provided with a lodging gratis, until they are sufficiently recovered to return to France; whither they shall be sent, with all their property, equally with the garrison. The commander in chief, on evacuating Malta, will entrust them to the honour and humanity of the English general.—*Granted.*

ART. VIII.—All individuals of whatsoever nation, inhabitants or not of Malta, shall not be molested for their political opinions, nor for any acts committed whilst Malta was in the power of the French government. This arrangement to be principally applied in its fullest extent to those who have taken up arms, or to those who have held any civil, administrative, or

military employments. These are not to be accountable for any thing which has passed, particularly not to be proceeded against for what happened during their administration.

Ans.—This article does not appear to come under the terms of a military capitulation ; but all the inhabitants who wish to remain, or who are permitted to remain, may depend on being treated with justice and humanity, and on enjoying the entire protection of the law.

ART. IX.—All the French inhabiting Malta, and those of the Maltese who are desirous of following the French army, and retiring to France with their property, shall have the liberty so to do. Those who possess moveables, and estates impossible to be disposed of immediately, and who intend settling in France, shall be allowed six months from the signature of the present capitulation, for the sale of their estates and other effects. This property shall be respected ; those who remain for the time being shall be allowed to act for themselves, or, if they follow the French division, by their attorney : and, on the termination of their affairs, they shall be furnished with passports for France ; and the remainder of their effects sent on board, together with their capital, either in money or in letters of exchange, as shall best suit their convenience.—*Granted*, with reference to the answer given to the preceding article.

ART. X.—As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the English general shall permit the commander in chief of the

French forces to dispatch a felucca properly manned, with an officer to carry the capitulation to the French government, who shall be provided with a necessary safeguard.—*Granted.*

ART. XI.—The articles of capitulation being signed, the gate called *des Combes* shall be given up to the English general; and occupied by a guard consisting of an equal number of French and English, with orders to permit neither the soldiers of the besieging army, nor any inhabitant of the island whatsoever, to enter the city until the French troops shall be embarked and out of sight of the port. As soon as the embarkation shall have taken place, the English troops shall occupy the gates, and free entrance be allowed into the city. The English general must perceive that this precaution is absolutely necessary to prevent all disputes, and in order that the articles of the capitulation may be religiously observed.

Granted, conformably to what has been already provided against by the answer to the first article: and all precaution shall be taken to prevent the armed Maltese from approaching the gates occupied by the French troops.

ART. XII.—All alienation of property, and sale of estates and effects by the French government, whilst it was in possession of Malta, together with all exchange of property between individuals, shall be maintained inviolable.—*Granted*, as far as justice and law will permit.

ART. XIII.—The agents of the allied powers residing in the city Valetta at the time of its surrender shall not be molested, and their persons and property shall be guarantied by the present capitulation.—*Granted.*

ART. XIV.—All ships of war and merchant vessels coming from France with the colours of the republic, and appearing before the port, shall not be esteemed prizes, nor the crews made prisoners, during the first twenty days after the date of the present capitulation, but shall be sent back to France with a proper safeguard.—*Refused.*

ART. XV.—The commander in chief, the other generals, their aides-du-camp, the subaltern officers, shall be embarked altogether, with the commissioners and their suites.—*Granted.*

ART. XVI.—The prisoners made during the siege, including the crew of the *Guillaume Tell* and *La Diane*, shall be restored, and treated like the garrison. The crew of *La Justice* to be used in the same manner, should she be taken in returning to one of the ports of the republic.—

Ans.—The crew of the *Guillaume Tell* is already exchanged, and that of *La Diane* is to be sent to Majorca to be exchanged immediately.

ART. XVII.—No one in the service of the republic shall be subject to a reprisal of any kind whatsoever.—*Granted.*

ART. XVIII.—If any difficulties should arise respecting the terms and conditions of the capitulation, they shall be in-

terpreted in the most favourable sense for the garrison.—
Granted, according to justice.

Done and concluded at Malta, the 18th Fructidor, in the
8th year of the French republic.

Signed by the general of division *Vaubois*, rear-admiral *Villeneuve*, major-general *Pigot*; and captain *Martin*, commodore of his Britannic majesty's and the allied fleet before Malta.

No. XVI.

ARTICLES

IN THE

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF AMIENS

RELATIVE TO

MALTA, and the Sovereign Order of ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

THE islands of Malta, Goza, and Cumino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations.

1. The knights of the order whose languages shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand-master chosen from among the natives of the nation which preserve their language, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is understood, that an election made subsequent to that epoch shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or English language, and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island. This language shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment and an hotel. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this language; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Goza, and Cumino.

4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state, provided the grand-master, or commissaries fully authorised according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall be always composed of native Maltese; for the remainder, the order ~~may~~ levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the languages (*posséder les langues*). The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The command in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of officers, shall pertain to the grand-master; and this right he cannot resign, even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the isles of Malta, of Goza, and Cumino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be opened to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties: these duties shall be applied to the cultivation of the Maltese language as specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all colours.

9. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the states of Barbary and the order of St. John, or the powers possessing the languages,

or concurring in the composition of the order, shall have ceased.

10. The order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the knights left the isle, as far as the present treaty shall derogate from them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the order, in the customary manner; and the grand-master, or, if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his states, to serve in garrison of the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guarantying powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13. The different powers designated in paragraph 6, viz. France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

No. XVII.

CONVENTION

BETWEEN

*His IMPERIAL MAJESTY the EMPEROR of all the RUSSIAS,
and the SOVEREIGN ORDER of MALTA.*

HIS majesty the emperor of all the Russias, on one side, wishing to give a proof of his sentiments of affection, esteem, and consideration, towards the illustrious order of Malta, at the same time intending to assure, consolidate, and encrease, the establishment of the said order in his dominions, which has already been instituted in Poland, particularly in the provinces of that country now belonging to the Russian government, and being desirous of obtaining for those of his subjects who are capable of being received into the illustrious order of Malta all the advantages, honours, and privileges, annexed thereto; and the sovereign order of Malta, with his most eminent highness the grand-master, on the other side, being perfectly sensible of the kind intentions of his imperial majesty towards them, of the importance and utility of such an institution in the empire of Russia, and being desirous on their

part of fulfilling the wise and benevolent designs of his majesty the emperor, by facilitating them by every possible means consistent with the constitution and laws of the order; have, by common consent, agreed to form a convention for the accomplishment of these respective objects, according to the reciprocal wishes of the contracting parties.

In consequence of which, his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias has appointed, and authorised to act as his plenipotentiaries, the sieur comte Alexander de Besborodko, privy counsellor of the first class, minister of the council of state, director-general of the post-office, knight of the orders of St. Andrew and St. Alexander Newsky, and grand-cross of that of St. Windimir, of the first class; together with the sieur prince Alexander de Kourakin, his vice-chancellor, privy counsellor, minister of the council of state, chamberlain, knight of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne, of the first class, likewise of the royal orders of Danebrog and of the Perfect Union.—The sovereign order of Malta, with his most eminent highness the grand-master, have named for the same purpose the sieur Jules René, bailli comte de Litta, grand-cross of the order of Malta, knight of justice of the venerable language of Italy, commander of several commanderies, knight of the military order of St. George, of the first class, and of the Polish orders of the White Eagle and St. Stanislaus, rear-admiral of the Russian navy, and minister plenipotentiary from the sovereign

order of Malta and his most eminent highness the grand-master, to his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias. These plenipotentiaries, having communicated and exchanged the full powers with which they were vested in due form, agreed upon the following articles :

ARTICLE I.

His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, as an act of justice, and at the same time to prove his sentiments of affection and high consideration for the illustrious order of Malta, approves, confirms, and ratifies, in his own name and that of his successors for ever, in the most ample and solemn manner, the establishment of the said order of Malta in his dominions.

ARTICLE II.

His imperial majesty the emperor, acknowledging the validity of the establishment that the order of Malta, under the guaranty of the imperial court of Russia, possessed in Poland, the advantages and enjoyment of which have been suspended by the troubles in that country and the dissolution of its government, as a compensation for the revenues assured to the order in Poland on estates belonging to the ordinate of Ostrog, and being desirous of extending and adding to the solidity and consistence of the present establishment of the order of Malta in Russia, his said majesty has most graciously granted to the order of Malta to have and to hold for ever the annual

sum of three hundred thousand Polish florins, which shall be collected and distributed by the said order, according to the mode agreed upon in the different articles of the first convention.

ARTICLE III.

The state treasury of the empire of Russia shall pay from the total sum annually received, in title of *emphytéose*, on all the starosties of Poland now in the Russian dominions, the sum of three hundred thousand Polish florins every year to the order of Malta; this annual payment to be made at two different times; the first of a hundred and fifty thousand Polish florins on the ^{30th of June,}_{11th of July,} and the second of the same sum, making in the whole three hundred thousand Polish florins, on the ^{31 December,}_{11 January.} These said payments are to be made to the receiver for Malta, his treasurer resident in Russia, or any other person legally authorised to receive them.

ARTICLE IV.

The said annual sum of three hundred thousand Polish florins, which his imperial majesty thus graciously grants to the order of Malta, shall be for perpetuity exempted from all drawbacks whatsoever, and from ordinary and extraordinary taxes, and shall form the foundation and revenues of the institution of the said order in his dominions, which shall be termed the grand-priory of Russia.

ARTICLE V.

The grand-priory of Russia shall consist of a grand-prior and ten commanderies. The respective revenues shall be distributed every year in the following manner :—the grand-priory shall have sixty thousand Polish florins; the first and second commanderies thirty thousand Polish florins each; the third and fourth commanderies twenty thousand Polish florins each; the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, each fifteen thousand Polish florins.

ARTICLE VI.

The dignified post of grand-prior shall pay annually to the venerable common treasury of the order of Malta, by way of responsions, twelve thousand Polish florins; and all the ten commanderies shall likewise pay in annually their respective responsions in the following manner :—the first and second commanderies each six thousand Polish florins; the third and fourth, each four thousand; the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, fifteen hundred each. These annual responsions due to the venerable common treasury of the order of Malta shall be deducted from the sum total of three hundred thousand Polish florins by the minister, receiver, or treasurer, for the order of Malta residing in Russia, who shall receive the above-mentioned revenues from the grand-priory, and shall be charged with making the above-mentioned annual repartition.

ARTICLE VII.

His imperial majesty and his most eminent highness the grand-master being equally convinced of the use and importance of a permanent legation from the order of Malta in Russia, to facilitate and maintain a direct communication between their respective dominions, and to attend assiduously to every particular relative to this new establishment, have agreed by common consent to dedicate for this purpose the annual sum of twenty thousand Polish florins as a salary for the minister and receiver of the order of Malta residing in the empire of Russia; besides the annual sum of twelve thousand Polish florins for the maintenance of the chapel and archives, and likewise for the pay of officers belonging to the grand-priory and the minister.

ARTICLE VIII.

The eighteen thousand Polish florins which remain from the sum total of three hundred thousand florins shall be employed for supplying annually the different expences at Malta relative to the grand-priory of Russia.

ARTICLE IX.

The order of Malta shall enter into the enjoyment of its revenues from the 1st of January, 1797; and the sum total of the three hundred thousand Polish florins of this first year, to-

gether with the amount of the first four months of the year 1798, shall be paid into the common treasury of the order of Malta, as an indemnification for the expence of the extraordinary mission to St. Petersburg, and likewise for the expences indispensably necessary for the order of Malta in the empire of Russia. In consequence of which, the grand-prior and the ten commanders who shall be appointed will enter upon their respective revenues from the 1st of May, 1798.

ARTICLE X.

His imperial majesty declares, that the dignity of the grand-priory of Russia, and the ten commanderies dependent thereon, can never be conferred, on any pretext, on those of his subjects who are not entitled to be received into the order of Malta.

ARTICLE XI.

His imperial majesty grants to the order of Malta full and entire liberty to establish and follow, in its new institutions in his dominions, its own form of government; and he admits and takes under his special protection the execution of the rules and statutes adopted or its interior administration.

ARTICLE XII.

His imperial majesty being also desirous that the illustrious order of Malta thus established in Russia should possess

the same consideration and splendour that it enjoyed in the other states of Europe, and knowing that nothing can possibly contribute more to this important object than a strict observance of the laws and statutes of the order; he ordains that every individual who composes, or shall in future compose, the said grand-priory of Russia, shall exactly conform to, and put in practice, all the duties prescribed in the rules and constitution of the order of Malta, either for their respective reception, or any other object relative to their situation.

ARTICLE XIII.

His imperial majesty is still more attentive to, and interested in, the execution of the preceding article, from the perfect conviction that the duties of the knights of Malta prescribed by the wise constitution of the order are always inseparable from those which every faithful subject has contracted towards his country and lawful sovereign.

ARTICLE XIV.

The reception of the knights of Malta, and the proofs of nobility required on that occasion, shall be the same as in the heretofore grand-priory of Poland; and the passage fees shall be paid according to the tax fixed in the above-mentioned priory.

ARTICLE XV.

The knights shall perform the usual caravans in the most

exact manner, and shall make the usual conventual residence in Malta.

ARTICLE XVI.

On the death of each commander, or professed knight, his effects, according to the statutes, shall belong to the common treasury of Malta; and the procurator-general, or agent of the order appointed for this purpose, shall be charged to collect the said effects. This article does not regard the commanders of *family* or *jus patronat*, but solely relates to those persons who are regularly professed in the order.

ARTICLE XVII.

Every individual of the order of Malta shall be equally obliged exactly to fulfil his statutable duties. The commanderies and grand-priory are bestowed according to seniority, which is reckoned from the date of their respective receptions: but this right of seniority is of no avail unless all the other duties of the order be fulfilled; so that every candidate for the commanderies and grand-priory must be competent, not only from right of seniority, but from having performed his statutable duties.

ARTICLE XVIII.

His imperial majesty, as a still further proof of his personal regard for his most eminent highness the grand-master, gives his consent that his eminence, in quality of chief of the order of Malta, shall enjoy the same magisterial prerogative in the

grand-priory of Russia as in all other priories ; such as conferring a commandery by *favour* once in five years, should one become vacant in that space of time. This commandery shall be subject to the payment of an annate, and of all other duties imposed in the magisterial collations. His most eminent highness cannot, however, bestow this commandery on any knight who is not of the grand-priory of Russia.

ARTICLE XIX.

In order that the repartition of the property of Malta may extend to a greater number of persons, no knight shall be permitted, from right of seniority, to possess more than one commandery at the same time ; he therefore must quit his commandery, upon being promoted to one of more considerable value. The mutations of commanderies in the grand-priory of Russia shall take place in Malta, according to the laws and rules of the order.

ARTICLE XX.

The knights who from their merit have obtained a commandery *by favour*, from the beneficence of the grand-master, shall not be included in the regulations contained in the preceding article, which relate exclusively to the commanderies in right of seniority.

ARTICLE XXI.

The grand-priory of Russia, and the commanderies depending thereon, shall be subject, equally with all the other com-

manderies of Malta, to the mortuary and vacancy duties ; and the common treasury of the order shall have, during that time, the administration of the revenues.

ARTICLE XXII.

The rent of any commandery which shall remain vacant through want of a candidate shall be paid into the common treasury of the order, until such time as a member of the grand-priory shall become capable of obtaining it.

ARTICLE XXIII.

His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias likewise approves, confirms, and ratifies, all the commanderies of the order of Malta termed *of family*, or *jus patronat*, already instituted in Poland, and which now make part of the Russian dominions ; and his imperial majesty declares, that all the conditions and clauses announced and stipulated in the different acts of the above-mentioned respective foundations shall be entirely and exactly fulfilled, without any exception from one or the other side.

ARTICLE XXIV.

His imperial majesty, to contribute still more to the happiness and prosperity of the order of Malta, and at the same time to enable all the Catholic nobility of his empire, and even those who from particular circumstances cannot submit themselves entirely to the statutable duties of the order of Malta,

to participate in the distinctions, honours, and prerogatives, granted to this illustrious order, which his imperial majesty has constantly loved and respected, deigns to grant, from this present moment and for ever, permission and his imperial sanction for all future commanderies *of family* or *jus patronat*; for which all those who are desirous of entering into this noble institution must address themselves directly to the order of Malta, or to its representative in the empire of Russia, whether it be to agree upon the reciprocal conditions, or to arrange and commit to writing the respective foundations, and to obtain from Malta the necessary approbation. The commanderies *of family* shall be entitled in the order of Malta by the names of the families which originally founded them.

ARTICLE XXV.

The grand-priory of Russia shall hold the capitular assemblies in the chief place of residence, and especially the one fixed for the 23d of June, the eve of the festival of St. John the Baptist, patron of the order of Malta. The venerable chapter shall review and direct all the affairs of the grand-priory that fall under its cognizance, keep a register of its deliberations, and send the requisite communications to Malta.

ARTICLE XXVI.

The venerable chapter shall be presided by the grand-prior, and in his absence by the most ancient commander.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The capitular regulations fixed by the statutes of the order shall be followed in every thing relative to the proposition and decision of affairs.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The minister-plenipotentiary from Malta in the empire of Russia, in quality of procurator-general of his most eminent highness the grand-master, the sacred council of the order, and common treasury, shall be constant recorder, in virtue of his office, of affairs which shall be decided by the majority of votes ; and in case of an equality, the grand-prior shall have the casting vote. All affairs discussed and decided according to the statutes, customs, and privileges, of the order, shall be terminated without delay ; but if they be out of the common order of things, the decision shall be sent to Malta before they are executed.

ARTICLE XXIX.

All professed knights in the order of Malta who may happen to be upon the spot shall be obliged to attend the chapters ; where they shall all have deliberative votes, and take their seats according to seniority and the capitular rules of the order. The knights in their noviciate shall also assist at the chapter, but without deliberative votes.

ARTICLE XXX.

All the commanders *of family* shall be invited to the chapters, in which they shall take their seats with the other commanders, according to the antiquity of the foundation of each commandery. They shall have a consulting vote, and when it shall be question of any thing relative to the *patronal* commanderies a deliberative one.

ARTICLE XXXI.

In order to enable all the knights of Malta who have both military and civil employments in his imperial majesty's service to perform the duty of their order, permission will be granted them to absent themselves whenever the above-mentioned duties make it indispensably necessary.

ARTICLE XXXII.

As all other grand-priories, though they retain the distinctive colours of the order, have each a different uniform, his imperial majesty and his most eminent highness the grand-master will make choice of one for the grand-priory of Russia.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

The grand-prior and commanders alone shall have right of wearing the grand cross of the order in saltire; all the other knights shall wear the small cross at the button-hole.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

The honorary knights in Russia, such as those who, without having made their proofs of nobility in the order of Malta, have obtained leave to wear the cross called *of devotion* or *favour*, must place the small cross at their button-hole; but not wear the particular uniform of the grand-priory of Russia, without the especial permission of his imperial majesty and his eminence the grand-master.

ARTICLE XXXV.

All the honorary knights in Russia shall legitimate and register in the chancery of the grand-priory the titles by which they are authorised to wear the cross of the order.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in the last place, most graciously grants, that the order of Malta shall enjoy the same privileges, prerogatives, and honours, in his dominions, as the said illustrious order enjoys elsewhere from the esteem and affection of other sovereign princes.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

The present convention shall be ratified by his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and by the sovereign order of Malta and his most eminent highness the grand-master; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four

months from the day of their signature, and even sooner if possible.

In testimony of which, the underwritten plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention, to which they have put their seals.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, the 4-15th January, 1797.

(L. S.) *Alexander Comte de Besborodko.*

(L. S.) *Prince Alexander Kourakin.*

(L. S.) *Fr. Jules René Bailli Comte de Litta.*

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

The arrears due to the order of Malta in Poland, from having been deprived of its revenue ever since the year 1788, including the four thousand golden ducats likewise due from the time of the first foundation of the order of Malta in Poland, according to the treaty of 1775, till the moment when the estates and dependencies thereof situated in Ostrog were seized upon and incorporated with the Russian dominions in 1793, shall be comprised in the general debt of the heretofore republic of Poland, in order to be verified when the general liquidation shall take place, and as such shall be acquitted according to the mode adopted for the general payment of the debts of the republic.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if inserted word for word in the convention concluded on the same day, and shall be ratified at the same time. In testimony of which, the underwritten plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have put their seals.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, the 4-15th January, 1797.

(L. S.) *Alexander Comte de Besborodko.*

(L. S.) *Prince Alexander Kourakin.*

(L. S.) *Fr. Jules René Bailli Comte de Litta.*

ARTICLE II.

In regard to the arrears due to the order of Malta from the year 1793 inclusively, when the said Polish provinces became part of the Russian dominions, till the 31st of December, 1796, his imperial majesty, as another proof of his affection and benevolent intentions towards the illustrious order of Malta, though he reserves to himself the right of making in future the arrangements which shall appear the most proper relative to the above-mentioned arrears, now most graciously declares, that he will from this present moment grant the payment of the particular sum due as a matter of right to the common treasury of the order, which sum arises from the annual responsions not having been as yet paid in. These, being fixed at twenty-four thousand Polish florins a-year, amount to the sum total of ninety-six thousand Polish florins for the four years elapsed

since the said time. In consequence of which, his imperial majesty deigns to grant five thousand Dutch ducats for the payment of the said sum to the order, which shall be paid the moment the ratification of the present convention shall take place.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if inserted word for word in the convention concluded on the same day, and shall be ratified at the same time. In testimony of which, the underwritten plenipotentiaries have signed it, and put their seals.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, 4-15th January, 1797.

(L. S.) *Alexander Comte de Besborodko.*

(L. S.) *Prince Alexander Kourakin.*

(L. S.) *Fr. Jules René Bailli Comte de Litta.*

ARTICLE III.

The grand-priory of Russia, which takes the place of the heretofore grand-priory of Poland in the order of Malta, shall be incorporated, as the latter has hitherto been, in the ancient language of England, which had been partly restored in the order of Malta. His most eminent highness the grand-master and the sacred council of the order shall for the future take upon themselves to see that this incorporation be made according to the constitution and laws of the order, the principles of justice, and a regard to their reciprocal convenience.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if inserted word for word in the convention concluded on the same day, and shall be ratified at the same time. In testimony of which, the underwritten plenipotentiaries have signed it, and put their seals.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, 4-15th January, 1797.

(L. S.) *Alexander Comte de Besborodko.*

(L. S.) *Prince Alexander Kourakin.*

(L. S.) *Fr. Jules René Bailli Comte de Litta.*

ARTICLE IV.

As all the payments mentioned in the present convention are expressed by Polish florins, and as it is of great importance to prevent the inconveniences and alterations for the future which might possibly result in the said payments from the difference of exchange, the high and mighty contracting parties have agreed by common consent to fix an unalterable value to that coin, according to which the respective payments agreed upon in this convention, and indeed all the payments in the grand-priory of Russia, shall be made in perpetuity, and that without any alteration whatsoever. His imperial majesty and his most eminent highness the grand-master have, in consequence, fixed, in the most irrevocable manner, the value of the said Polish florin at twenty-five Russian copecks.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if inserted word for word in the convention concluded on the same day, and shall be ratified at the same time. In

testimony of which, the underwritten plenipotentiaries have signed it, and put their seals.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, the 4-15th of January, 1797.

(L. S.) *Alexander Comte de Besborodko.*

(L. S.) *Prince Alexander Kourakin.*

(L. S.) *Fr. Jules René Bailli Comte de Littq.*

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES

In the Convention concluded between the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and that of the Sovereign Order of Malta and his most Eminent Highness the Grand-Master, at St. Petersburg, the 4-15th of January, 1797.

THE plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias and that of the sovereign order of Malta and his most eminent highness the grand-master, having judged it proper to add some further stipulations concerning the institution of the order of Malta in Russia to the convention signed by them at St. Petersburg on the 4-15th of January, 1797, have concluded and signed, in virtue of the respective full powers with which they are vested, the following additional articles.

ARTICLE I.

His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having

approved that there should be conventual chaplains in the grand-priory of Russia for performing the service of the churches of the order, whether in Russia or Malta, designs to add to the concessions already mentioned in the above convention a new foundation of three commanderies, appropriated to the class of conventual chaplains, each of which commanderies shall receive the annual sum of six thousand Polish florins, to be paid by the state treasury of the empire of Russia, according to the same valuation and on the same terms as are stipulated in the said convention.

ARTICLE II.

The annual responsions to be paid to the venerable common treasury of the order by the said three commanderies shall be fixed at a thousand Polish florins each.

ARTICLE III.

The conventual chaplains of the grand-priory of Russia shall make their proofs of reception, pay their passage fees to the venerable common treasury, and fulfil all their statutable duties, conformably to what was agreed upon by the last general chapter of the order in 1776; they shall also enjoy all the rights, advantages, honours, and prerogatives, assigned them by the laws. The above-mentioned conventual chaplains shall be named to the commanderies according to their seniority in the order and their statutable capacity.

ARTICLE IV.

His imperial majesty grants that there shall be a conventual chaplain of the Maltese nation in the grand-priory of Russia, in the same manner as in the other grand-priories of the order: this chaplain to be chosen from among the most illustrious families of the island, and to have merited by his conduct the esteem of the order.

ARTICLE V.

His imperial majesty leaves the nomination of the said Maltese chaplain to his most eminent highness the grand-master, and that, not only at present, but for ever. This magisterial nomination shall be each time communicated to the imperial court, and shall be registered according to form in the grand-priory of Russia. The said Maltese chaplain shall be held to fulfil all the statutable duties, and shall enjoy, by virtue of his nomination, the same rights, honours, and prerogatives, in the grand-priory of Russia, as the conventual chaplains subjects of his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias; save those particular restrictions prescribed by the statutes in regard to the Maltese chaplains, which are equally in force in the other priories of the order.

ARTICLE VI.

The annual responsions of these last commanderies, fixed by the convention at fifteen hundred Polish florins, shall be raised to three thousand Polish florins each.

ARTICLE VII.

To avoid all discussion which might in future arise in the interpretation of the twenty-second article of the convention, it is agreed, that the revenue of every commandery which shall remain vacant for want of a candidate shall, from the first day of the vacancy till it is filled up by some one who has made himself *capax*, be entirely dedicated to the use of the venerable common treasury ; and that the course of *mortuary* and *vacancy* shall only begin on the day the candidate is named to the commandery, conformably to statute the 9th and to the 14th ordinance of the treasury.

ARTICLE VIII.

The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity as if they had been inserted word for word in the convention concluded at St. Petersburg on the 4-15th of January, 1797. They shall be ratified by his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, by the sovereign order of Malta, and his most eminent highness the grand-master, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time. In testimony of which, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed them and put our seals.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, the 17-28th of November, 1797.

(L. S.) *Alexander Prince de Besborodko.*

(L. S.) *Prince Alexander Kourakin.*

(L. S.) *Fr. Jules René Bailli Comte de Litta.*

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No. XVIII.

PROCLAMATION

Appointing PAUL I. to the Grand-mastership.

WE, the bailiffs, grand-crosses, commanders, knights of the grand-priory of Russia, and all other members of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, present in this imperial residence of St. Petersburg, reflecting on the disastrous situation of our order; its total want of resources; the loss of its sovereignty and chief place of residence; the dispersion of its members, wandering through the world without a commander or any fixed spot of rendezvous; the encreasing dangers by which it is threatened; and the plans formed by usurpers to invade its property, and ruin it entirely: being desirous, and in duty bound, to employ all possible methods to prevent the destruction of an order equally ancient and illustrious, which has ever been composed of the most chosen nobility, and which has rendered such important service to the Christian world; of an order, the institutions of which were founded on such good principles as must not only be the firmest support to all legitimate authority, but tend to its own preservation and future existence: animated by gratitude towards his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, for the favours bestowed on our order; penetrated

with veneration for his virtues, and confidently relying on his sacred word, “ that he will not only support us in our institutions, privileges, and honours, but that he will employ every possible means to re-establish our order in its original respectable situation, when it contributed to the advantage of Christendom in general, and to every different state in particular:”—

Knowing the impossibility in our present circumstances, the members of our order being generally dispersed, of preserving all the forms and customs prescribed in our constitution and statutes; but being nevertheless desirous to secure the dignity and the power inherent to the sovereignty of our order, by making a proper choice of a successor to d'Aubusson, l'Isle-Adam, and La Valette :—

We, bailiffs and grand-crosses, commanders, knights of the grand-priory of Russia, and all other members of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, assembled at St. Petersburg, the chief place of residence of our order, not only in our names, but in those of the other languages, grand-priories in general, and all their members in particular who shall unite themselves to us by a firm adhesion to our principles, *Proclaim his Imperial Majesty the EMPEROR and AUTOCRATOR of all the Russias, PAUL I. GRAND-MASTER of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.*

In virtue of the present proclamation, we promise, according to our laws and statutes, and that by a sacred and solemn

engagement, obedience, submission, and fidelity, to his *imperial majesty the most eminent grand-master*.

Done at St. Petersburg, the residence of our order, this present Wednesday the 27th of October, 1798.

(L. S.)

His imperial majesty condescended to accept this mark of respect and confidence in his goodness, and answered by the following

DECLARATION.

WE, by the grace of God, PAUL I. emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c.

In consideration of the wish expressed to us by the bailiffs, grand-crosses, commanders, knights of the illustrious order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the grand-priory of Russia, and other members assembled together in our capital, in the name of all the well-intentioned part of their confraternity, we accept the title of grand-master of this order ; and renew on this occasion the solemn promises we have already made, in quality of protector, not only to preserve all the institutions and privileges of this illustrious order for ever unchanged in regard to the free exercise of its religion, with every thing relating to the knights of the Roman-catholic faith, and the jurisdiction of the order, the seat of which we have fixed in our imperial residence ; but also we declare that we will unceasingly employ for the future

all our care and attention for the augmentation of the order, for its re-establishment in the respectable situation which is due to the salutary end of its institution, for assuring its solidity, and confirming its utility. We likewise declare, that in taking thus upon us the supreme government of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and considering it our duty to make use of every possible means to obtain the restoration of the property of which it has been so unjustly deprived, we do not pretend in any degree, as emperor of all the Russias, to the smallest right or advantage which may strike at or prejudice any of the powers our allies: on the contrary, we shall always have a peculiar satisfaction in contributing, at all times, every thing in our power towards strengthening our alliance with the said powers.

Our grace and imperial favour towards the order of St. John of Jerusalem in general, and each of its members in particular, shall ever remain invariably the same.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 13th of November, in the year 1798, and in the 3d year of our reign.

(Signed) PAUL.

(Counter-signed) PRINCE BESBORODKO.

No. XIX.

PROCLAMATION

OF

His IMPERIAL MAJESTY the EMPEROR of all the RUSSIAS.

WE, PAUL the First, by the grace of God, emperor and autocrator of all the Russias, grand-master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, &c. &c.

It is an undoubted fact, that the order of St John of Jerusalem has, from the moment of its foundation, contributed, by the wisdom and utility of its institutions, not only to the well-being of the Christian world in general, but to the advantage of the different states of Christendom in particular. We have always done justice to this illustrious order ; and we have given a striking proof of our particular affection to it, on our accession to the imperial throne of Russia, by establishing a grand-priory in our dominions, to which we have granted an analogous revenue. Our quality of grand-master of this order, which we accepted in compliance with the general wish of all the well-intentioned members who compose it, induces us to pay the strictest attention towards the proper means of restoring the order to its original lustre, and to the recovery of those possessions of which it has been unjustly deprived. In consequence of which, being desirous on one side of giving a fresh proof of our esteem

and attachment for this ancient and respectable institution ; and, on the other, wishing to make partakers in the privileges, honours, and distinctions, attached to this order, those nobles among our subjects whose fidelity towards the throne, and whose personal bravery, together with that of their ancestors, have not only preserved our empire whole and entire, but defeated from time immemorial the numerous enemies of our country, and extended its limits: wishing also that this institution may be an additional motive to our faithful nobility, and stimulate them not only to the love of glory in general, but to acts tending to the advantage of the nation, and agreeable to the sovereign ; we have therefore judged it fitting to institute, and we do institute, by our imperial authority and by these presents, a new foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in favour of the nobles of our empire, according to the following regulations, which shall serve in future for the fundamental basis to the organisation of the said foundation.

ARTICLE I.

Independently of the sums heretofore assigned to the grand-priory of Russia, we graciously grant for the new foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and for the other expences attendant thereon, the annual sum of two hundred and sixteen thousand rubles ; which shall be received, administered, and divided, according to the mode prescribed in the following articles.

ARTICLE II.

The state treasury of the empire shall annually pay the said sum of two hundred and sixteen thousand rubles to the new foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. This payment shall be made at two different terms, viz. the first, of one hundred and eight thousand rubles, on the 30th of June, and the second, of the same sum, on the 31st of December, every year: the said payments are to be made into the treasury of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which shall afterwards make repartition according to the rules announced and fixed in the different articles of the present foundation.

ARTICLE III.

This sum of two hundred and sixteen thousand rubles which it has pleased us to grant, shall be for ever free from all drawbacks, or expences of any kind whatsoever; so that it shall be wholly and entirely enjoyed by the said foundation.

ARTICLE IV.

This new foundation shall consist of ninety-eight commanderies of different value, the revenues of which shall be fixed in the following manner:—There shall be two commanderies of each six thousand rubles a-year, four of four thousand rubles, six of three thousand rubles, ten of two thousand rubles, sixteen of fifteen hundred rubles, and sixty of one thousand rubles each.

ARTICLE V.

All the above-mentioned ninety-eight commanderies shall annually pay into the treasury of the order, by way of responses, twenty per cent of their respective revenues, according to the repartition in the preceding article; likewise five per cent as an exemption from a duty due to the treasury of the order on the effects of each commander after his decease.

ARTICLE VI.

The remaining part of the two hundred and sixteen thousand rubles shall be distributed every year, to supply the necessary expences of the order, such as they have been stated to us, and to which we have given our approbation.

ARTICLE VII.

The order of St. John of Jerusalem shall enter into the enjoyment of the revenues we have assigned this new foundation from the 1st of January, 1799, till the 1st of July of the same year; so that the one hundred and eight thousand rubles, making the half of the said revenue, shall be all paid into the treasury of the order: in consequence of which, the knights appointed to these different commanderies will not enter into the possession of their revenues till the 1st of July, 1779.

ARTICLE VIII.

All institutions, to be useful and lasting, must be governed

by clear and exact regulations: we therefore think it necessary to establish in the articles of the present foundation the duties which the knights shall be indispensably obliged to perform, and that without exception of persons; in default of which, no one can either be admitted as knights, or raised to the dignity of commanders.

ARTICLE IX.

These duties consist, first, in making their proofs of nobility according to the mode which shall be established by a commission of an hundred original commanders, which we shall appoint for that purpose; in which shall be included the lieutenant, who shall represent us in our new quality of grand-master. The above-mentioned mode shall next be approved and sanctioned by ourselves.

Secondly,—In paying into the treasury the passage-fees either of majority or minority at the moment of the reception, in the same manner as other knights in the order, and in paying all the other necessary duties. The majority fees for those received after the age of fifteen years are fixed at twelve hundred rubles; the minority fees for those received under ten years old at two thousand four hundred rubles.

Thirdly,—In making four ordinary caravans, either on board the squadrons of the order, or in the Russian army or navy: a campaign of six months shall be counted as one caravan. To verify the performance of the caravan duties, the

knight must be provided with a certificate signed by the military chiefs and commandants, proving the time he served, and attesting his good conduct.

Fourthly,—In not being in debt to the treasury of the order.

ARTICLE X.

Every candidate for admission into this new foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem must previously fulfil the conditions imposed in the first and second members of the preceding article. In order to aspire in future to the dignity of commander in case of a vacancy, it is indispensably necessary he should comply with all the obligations prescribed in the first, second, third, and fourth, members of the said article.

ARTICLE XI.

The knights who shall belong to the foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem shall be obliged punctually to fulfil all the conditions prescribed by these presents; and in case of a vacant commandery, the person who succeeds must obtain it from right of seniority: but this right of seniority ceases to be valid, if the candidate has not performed all the duties required of him; for to succeed to a vacant commandery, a scrupulous observation of the conditions imposed in the present foundation is equally necessary with the above-mentioned right of seniority.

ARTICLE XII.

When any commanderies shall become vacant, a commander may quit the one he already enjoys, to be preferred to a better: but in order to obtain such, the commander must possess the right of seniority, and not be indebted to the treasury of the order.

ARTICLE XIII.

The ninety-eight commanderies in this new institution shall be subject, equally with the other commanderies of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to the mortuary and vacancy duties; and these duties shall be directed by the laws and customs established for this purpose. The treasury of the order shall enjoy the administration and revenues of the vacant commandery during the term prescribed for the receipt of the mortuary and vacancy.

ARTICLE XIV.

The rents of every commandery which shall remain vacant for want of a candidate shall be entirely paid into the treasury of the order, until such time as some one shall render himself capable of obtaining it; and he shall not begin to receive the revenues till the very day when he shall be legally nominated to the commandery.

ARTICLE XV.

We reserve to ourselves the sole right of nominating the ninety-eight commanders who shall be put in possession of the commanderies instituted by this new foundation.

ARTICLE XVI.

The first ninety-eight commanders thus nominated by us shall be the only ones dispensed from the duties prescribed in the articles of the present foundation, and shall be only held to the payment of the passage fees and the established taxes.

ARTICLE XVII.

In our quality of grand-master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, we likewise reserve to ourselves the exercise of the magisterial prerogative, by virtue of which we have a right, once in five years, to confer a commandery by favour, if during this interval of time one of the ninety-eight commanderies which form this new institution should become vacant.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The commanderies which, as mentioned in the preceding article, shall be conferred by favour, shall be subject to the payment of all the duties fixed in the magisterial collations.

ARTICLE XIX.

It being our intention to confer the magisterial com-

manderies by favour only as the reward of merit, we promise to choose those alone who are deserving the protection and esteem of the sovereign, the state, and the order.

ARTICLE XX.

That the repartition of the revenues assigned by us for this new foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem may extend to a greater number of persons, no knight shall be allowed to enjoy more than one commandery at the same time ; so that when he gives up one, it shall be only to be promoted to a better. The mutations of commanderies shall take place according to the tenor of the conditions and regulations announced in the articles of the present foundation.

ARTICLE XXI.

Those knights who, by their personal merit and our sovereign good-will, shall have obtained a commandery by favour, shall not be included in the regulation mentioned in the preceding article ; the said regulation relating only to the commanderies obtained by right of seniority.

ARTICLE XXII.

To contribute still further to the well-being of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and to enable all the nobility of our empire, and even those among them who, from particular circumstances, cannot in all things comply with the obligations

prescribed in the articles of the present foundation, to partake the distinctions, honours, and prerogatives, granted to the knights received into this new foundation; we deign to grant, from this present moment and for ever, our imperial permission to all those who wish to found commanderies *of family* or *jus patronat* to make such foundations; and in that case they must address themselves directly to our lieutenant, either to agree on the reciprocal conditions, or to commit to writing the act of these foundations, which must afterwards be presented to us for our approbation and confirmation thereof.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The commanderies *of family* or *jus patronat* shall always bear the name of their original founders. The commanders *of family* shall enjoy all the honours, privileges, and prerogatives, attached to their foundations.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The commanders of the present institution shall assemble in the palace of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in our imperial residence at St. Petersburg, there to take cognizance of affairs either of administration or economy, or the observance, interpretation, and execution, of the regulations and conditions resolved and ordained in the present foundation; at the same time observing the rules established for the holding of these assemblies.

ARTICLE XXV.

The lieutenant who shall represent us in our quality of grand-master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem shall preside at these assemblies. He shall be perpetual recorder, by virtue of his office, of all affairs whatsoever which shall be decided by the majority of votes, according to the forms and customs observed in the order, and the regulations prescribed in the present foundation. A register shall be kept of all the deliberations, for our inspection.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Lastly, we confirm in the most solemn manner, in our name and in that of our successors for ever, all and each of the articles of the present foundation; the said articles to have their full effect, and to be inviolably executed.

Concluded at St. Petersburg, the 29th of November, in the year of our Lord 1798, and in the third of our reign.

(Signed) PAUL.

(Countersigned) PRINCE BESBORODKO.

No. XX.

PROCLAMATION

OF

His IMPERIAL MAJESTY the EMPEROR of all the RUSSIAS.

WE, ALEXANDER the First, by the grace of God, &c. &c. being desirous of giving a proof of our particular esteem and affection towards the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, declare, that we take the said order under our imperial protection; and that we will employ every possible care and attention to maintain it in all its rights, honours, privileges, and possessions.

For this purpose, we command and ordain, that our general field-marshal bailiff comte de Soltikoff should continue to exercise the functions and authority of lieutenant of the grand-master of the said order, and convene a sitting of the sacred council to make known our intentions that the imperial residence should be still regarded as the chief seat of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, until such time as circumstances shall permit the election of a grand-master according to the ancient forms and statutes.

In the interim, we ordain, in our quality of protector, that the sacred council shall have the government of the order, and shall make known to all the languages and priories this our

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determination; inviting them at the same time, for their own proper interest, to submit to the decrees issued by the said council.

We confirm, by this present declaration, our two grand Russian and Catholic priories established in our empire in the enjoyment of the property, privileges, and administration, already bestowed on them; and it is our will and pleasure that they should be governed, in our name of protector, by the lieutenant of the mastership, our general field-marshal bailiff comte Nicholas de Soltikoff.

The very first moment that, in concert with other courts, means can be found, and a proper place fixed upon, to convene a general chapter of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem; the first effects of our protection will be, to procure a grand-master to be elected who shall be worthy to preside over the order, and to re-establish it as formerly.

Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburg, 16-28th of March, 1801, in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

(Countersigned) Magnus-cancellarius Comes de PAHLEN,
universis et singulis quorum interest,
notum testatumque sit, suprascriptum
exemplum cum autographo quod in
ordinis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani
tabulario conservatur, de verbo ad
verbum concordare.

Petropoli, die 18 à mensis Martii, anno 1801.

Commendarius de Maisonneuve pro Vice-cancellario.

No. XXI.

D E C R E E

OF

*The SACRED COUNCIL of the Sovereign Order of ST. JOHN
of JERUSALEM.*

IN order to contribute as soon as possible to the restoring of a grand-master and the primitive constitution to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, the sovereign council of the said order, in the meeting of the 22d of June, 1801, has enquired into the form of a convocation of a general chapter, and finds that the statutes are as follow on that subject:

“A general chapter must consist of the grand-master, the bishop of Malta, the prior of the church, the conventual bailiffs or *pilliers* of the languages, the grand-priors or capitular bailiffs who have a decisive vote, a solicitor for the knights of each language, and a solicitor for the commanders of each priory.”

The sovereign council, in consideration that all the elements of a general chapter are dispersed, and knowing that, in the present situation of things, it would be impossible to assemble them, according to the form expressed in the statutes, has resolved to adopt a mode of election which shall differ as little

as possible from the ancient one, prevent delay, spare the priories all unnecessary expence and inconvenience, and immediately fix upon a chief for the sovereign order to govern it, and take possession of the island of Malta, whenever circumstances shall make it possible so to do.

For this purpose, the sovereign council enjoins all the grand-priors immediately to convene their chapters, and to carry before them the following propositions:—

I. The provincial chapter shall mark out, among the *professed* knights of every language, those whom they think most capable of filling the dignity of grand-master with proper courage and firmness. The grand-priors shall acquaint the sovereign council as soon as possible with this opinion, that a list may be formed from all the different priories of those who are candidates for the grand-mastership.

II. The council proposes to send this list to the court of Rome: and his holiness, as supreme chief of the Romish church, and as superior of all religious orders, shall be entreated to choose a grand-master from among the candidates; specifying at the same time, that this is only the case on this one occasion, and without derogating in any degree from the rights and privileges of the sovereign order.

His holiness shall also be requested to notify this election to all Catholic countries by a pontifical brief, commanding the knights to obey the grand-master thus chosen, according to the statutes of the holy obedience.

All the sovereign chapters shall be summoned by their grand-priors to declare their opinions formally and with precision, on the question of referring to the pope to elect a grand-master from the number of professed knights pointed out by the different priories.

By these means the order will be assured of having a grand-master of its own choice, and from among its own members ; and the sovereign council may proceed with confidence, according to the wishes and opinions of all the capitular chapters.

Moreover, the sovereign council represents to all the grand-priors, that it is more important than ever to employ all their authority and prudence to prevent every kind of division and intrigue, to choose a candidate truly worthy of the sovereign command, endowed with the necessary qualities to make the order of general utility and to restore a severe discipline.

Lastly, the sovereign council has in its wisdom judged that this was the only method to conciliate the members in general, to avoid all pretences for schisms, and to unite all the scattered knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 20th of July, 1801.

No. XXII
A GENERAL LIST
OF THE
COMMANDERIES

DEPENDENT ON THE THREE VENERABLE LANGUAGES OF
PROVENCE, AUVERGNE, and FRANCE.

VENERABLE LANGUAGE OF PROVENCE.

List of the Commanderies exclusively belonging to the Knights.

GRAND-PRIORY OF ST. GILLES.

PEZENAS Command. Magistr.

1 Aix	25 Marseille
2 Argeance	26 Millaud
3 Astros	27 Montfrin
4 Avignon	28 Montpellier
5 Barbantane	29 Nice
6 Le Bastie	30 Palliers
7 Beaulieu	31 Peyruis
8 Beziers	32 Plan de la Peyre
9 Canebieres	33 Poet Laval
10 La Capelle	34 Puymoisson
11 Capette	35 Raissac
12 Cavalez	36 St. Eulalie
13 Comps	37 St. Felix
14 La Couvertorade	38 Ste. Luce
15 Douzens	39 Ste. Marguerite
16 L'Urbans	40 Saliers
17 Espalions	41 La Selve
18 La Favillane	42 Trinquelaille
19 Gap	43 La Tronquière
20 Gap Frances	44 Vahours
21 Grezans	45 Valence
22 Homps	46 La Vernede
23 Jales	47 Vialard
24 Lugan	

GRAND-PRIORY OF TOULOUSE.

PUISSOUBRAN Command. Magistr.

1 Arcins	15 Larmond
2 Argentins	16 Monsaunez
3 Bordeaux	17 Plaignez
4 Bordères	18 Pont Charamet.
5 Boudiac	19 Renneville
6 Burgaud	20 Saint Blaize
7 Caignac	21 Saint Christol
8 Castel Jaloux	22 Le Temple d'Agen
9 La Cavallerie	23 Verlaguet
10 Caubins & Morlas	24 La Ville Dieu
11 Condat	
12 Cours	Commanderies of JUS PATRONAT.
13 Garidech	Forene la Gaude, in the priory of St.
14 Goulphech	Gilles

VENERABLE LANGUAGE OF PROVENCE.

List of the Commanderies exclusively belonging to the Conventual Chaplains and Servants of Arms.

GRAND-PRIORY OF ST. GILLES.

1 Espinas	3 Joucas
2 Valdrome	4 Narbonne

GRAND-PRIORY OF TOULOUSE.

1 Bayonne	4 Gonts
2 Castelnau	5 Roque Brune
3 Gabre & Capoulet	

VENERABLE LANGUAGE OF AUVERGNE.

List of the Commanderies exclusively belonging to the Knights.

GRAND-PRIORY OF AUVERGNE.

Magisterial Commandery of Salins.

1 Bellecombe	21 L'Imoge
2 Blandaix	22 L'Ormeteaux
3 Carlat	23 Macon
4 Celle	24 Maissonnise
5 Chamberaud	25 Masdieu
6 Chambéry	26 Marchemayet
7 Charrières	27 Montbrison
8 Chazelles	28 Montchamp
9 Compezières	29 Montferrand
10 Courteserre	30 Monterolle
11 Dole	31 Olloix
12 Fenières	32 Poliac
13 Laracherie	33 St. Georges
14 Lavaufrance	34 St. Paul
15 Laumusse	35 Ste. Anne
16 Les Beugnets	36 Sales & Monseugny
17 Les Bordes	37 Villedieu
18 Les Echelles	38 Villefranche
19 Les Feuilletts	39 Tortebeffe
20 L'Heureuil	40 Romo Portocarero

List of the Commanderies exclusively belonging to the Conventual Chaplains and Servants of Arms.

1 Artois	7 Pont Vieux
2 Chanonat	8 Pui de Noix
3 Fargues & Viviers	9 St. Romain en Galles
4 Lacroix au Baux	10 Temple Dayen
5 La Tourette	11 Ville Jesus
6 Lieu Dieu	

VENERABLE LANGUAGE OF FRANCE.

List of the Commanderies exclusively belonging to the Knights.

GRAND-PRIORY OF FRANCE.

PIETON Valenciennes Mag. Com.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Abbeville | 20 Louviers & Vomion |
| 2 Auxerre | 21 Loison |
| 3 Beauvais | 22 Maupas & Soissons |
| 4 Boncourt | 23 Moisy & Magny |
| 5 Boux & Merlan | 24 Orleans |
| 6 La Barque | 25 Oisemont |
| 7 Castres | 26 St. Etienne de Kenneville |
| 8 Chantraine | 27 St. Mauvis |
| 9 Channut | 28 St. Vaubourg |
| 10 Couloumiers | 29 Sommereux |
| 11 Coulours | 30 Sours & Arville |
| 12 La Croix en Brie | 31 Slyppe |
| 13 Estrepigny | 32 Tirlemont |
| 14 Fontaine sous Mont Didier | 33 Troye |
| 15 Fieffes | 34 Vaillampont |
| 16 Haute Avesne | 35 Ville Dieu en Drugesin |
| 17 Ivry le Temple | 36 Ville Dieu la Montagne |
| 18 Lagny le Sec | 37 Ville Dieu le Baillet |
| 19 Laon & Chatillon | 38 Villers au Liège |

GRAND-PRIORY OF AQUITAINE.

LA ROCHELLE Mag. Com.

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Amboise | 14 L'Isle Bouchard |
| 2 Ansigny | 15 Lalande Verché |
| 3 Artheims | 16 Loudun |
| 4 Balan | 17 Mauleon |
| 5 Blisson | 18 Nantes |
| 6 Bourgneuf | 19 Ozon & Prailles |
| 7 Coudrie | 20 La Roche Ville Dieu |
| 8 La Feuillée | 21 St. Remi |
| 9 Les Epaux | 22 Le Temple d'Angers |
| 10 Frettay | 23 Theval |
| 11 Guélan | 24 Villegast |
| 12 La Guerche | 25 Verneuil |
| 13 L'Hôpital d'Angers | |

GRAND-PRIORY OF CHAMPAGNE

Metz Mag. Commandery.

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Arbiguy | 10 Ponthaubert |
| 2 Beaune | 11 Robecourt |
| 3 Belle Croix | 12 La Romagne |
| 4 Beau Chemin | 13 Ruetz |
| 5 Bonnevaux | 14 Tors & Corgebin |
| 6 Chalons sur Saone | 15 Valeure |
| 7 Marbottle | 16 Vircourt |
| 8 Nancy | 17 Xugny |
| 9 Neuville au Temple | |

VENERABLE LANGUAGE OF FRANCE.

List of the Commanderies exclusively belonging to the Conventual Chaplains and Servants of Arms.

GRAND-PRIORY OF FRANCE.

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1 Baugis | 6 La Ferté Gaucher |
| 2 Bourgout | 7 Laigneville |
| 3 Bertheville | 8 Rheims |
| 4 Chevru | 9 Saussais & Biche |
| 5 Estampes | 10 Valcanville |

GRAND-PRIORY OF AQUITAINE.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------|
| 1 Carentair | 4 Quittay |
| 2 Feolette | 5 Launay |
| 3 Fosses Chalons | |

GRAND-PRIORY OF CHAMPAGNE.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1 Breaux | 4 Gelancour |
| 2 Dijon | 5 St. Amand |
| 3 Ennouveaux | 6 St. Marc |

Over and above these benefices, the order possessed others called *Members*, which were not originally thought sufficiently considerable to be made commanderies. The total revenue of all these possessions in France, at the time the order was abolished, amounted to 4,760,753 French livres: if the possessions of the Antonines, which were reckoned at 315,126 French livres, be added to the former sum, the whole will be found to bring in a revenue of 5,075,879 French livres.

No. XXIII.

LIST

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF MALTA

RECEIVED IN THE VENERABLE LANGUAGES OF

PROVENCE, AUVERGNE, and FRANCE,

IN THE YEAR 1788.

THIS list having been published by the three languages of France, may certainly be regarded as an authentic proof of the birth and situation in life of those persons who composed it at that time; I have, notwithstanding, thought that it might possibly be useful to many gentlemen, in the unfortunate state to which they have been reduced by the revolution in their country, to publish it a second time, to prevent any doubt which might possibly arise relative to the said birth and situation.

List of the Knights of the Venerable Language of Provence.

- 1 Rich. J. L. de Sade
- 2 L. de France Montgey
- 3 P. Ant. de Raymond d'Eaulx
- 4 G. Fr. de la Croix de Seyve
- 5 G. L. de Tulle, Ville Franche
- 6 J. Ant. J. Ch. de Riquetti Mirabeau
- 7 Toussaint de Vento des Pennes
- 8 J. de Grattel Dolomieu
- 9 P. de Blacas Carros
- 10 L. Dominig de Gras Préville

- 11 L. Siffren Benoit de Lapis Lafare
- 12 Aug. de Jarente
- 13 Je. M. de Trevey Charmail
- 14 L. de Moreton }
- 15 Chabrilan }
- 16 Fr. Hen. Aug. de Catellan
- 17 V. Nicol. de Vachou Belmont
- 18 Dom. G. de Guillard d'Agoult
- 19 Hon. de Thomas Chateauneuf
- 20 P. de Lombard Montauroux

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|---|---|
| 21 J. Jo. Ni. Le Blanc de Lisse | 62 P. Paul de Lari la Tour |
| 22 L. Guill. Le Blanc de Lisse | 63 Timo. de Gueidan |
| 23 J. Bapt. de Glandeves Castellet | 64 Jo. Fr. Fch. de Garnier St. Antonin |
| 24 Fr. René de Forbin d'Oppede | 65 Olivier Fr. de Seitre Caumont |
| 25 Espr. d'Albert Saint Hippolite | 66 Jean Heird de Rabasteus |
| 26 Bruno Marie de Foresta | 67 Jo. Henri de Piolene |
| 27 Chrisom. de Gaillard d'Agoutt | 68 L. Ph. de Pagese St. Lieux |
| 28 L. Ch. Recf. de Coliolis Espenouse | 69 Fr. M. Siffren d'Aurel |
| 29 P. Je. Bap. de Mandola | 70 An. Fr. d'Anselme Grugieres |
| 30 Anne Et. de Lezai Marnesia | 71 Emelien de Tressemanes Chasteuil |
| 31 P. And. de Suffren | 72 L. Rai. de Pavée, Villevieille |
| 32 Paul Pu. de Suffren St. Troppez | 73 Ja. du Puy la Lagade-St. André |
| 33 L. Dise de Rosans | 74 Jos. An. d'Urre |
| 34 M. Max. de Tressemanes Chasteuil | 75 Victor de Thoron Artignose |
| 35 Je. Acta. de Motette Moranqies | 76 Fr. de Glandeves Castellet |
| 36 J. Franc. Tulle d'Albert St. Hippolite | 77 Ch. Fr. Roger de Caux |
| 37 J. Ch. Raim. de Tressemanes Chasteuil | 78 Jo. M. P. d'Albertas St. Mayend |
| 38 Joh. Paul de Baroneelli Javon. | 79 Jo. G. de Virieu Beauvoir |
| 39 P. Ad. Secret de Gneydan | 80 G. Jos. de l'Estang Parade |
| 40 Ch. de Tressemanes Brunet | 81 Jo. G. de Lordat Bram |
| 41 Ch. Franc. de Chailan | 82 E. Fr. de Brette Tharin |
| 42 P. de la Garde St. Angel | 83 Jer. de Leaumout Puygaillard |
| 43 J. Fr. de Marcel blein du Poet | 84 Henri Philippe de Chatret |
| 44 Jean d'Hautpoul | 85 Franc. Anne de Lordat Brain |
| 45 Jos. G. de Marcel blein du Poet | 86 Fr. Jos. de Fumel |
| 46 Hon. Afs. de Castellane Saint Jurs | 87 Jean Bap. Louis de Chatret |
| 47 Franç. de la Garde St. Angel | 88 Alph. Rodolph. d'Albertas Jocques |
| 48 Ant. Franç. de Crose Lincel | 89 P. Annib. de Sobirats |
| 49 Henri de Vento des Penne | 90 Ch. de Glandeves Castellet |
| 50 Jacques de Durand Sartous | 91 Ch. Gas. de Grille Estoublon |
| 51 Jean Jo. de Santous | 92 L. Honor. Alex. de Puget Bras |
| 52 Albert de Pradines Rarsa | 93 Leon d'Amalvin Montazet |
| 53 An. God. Disuru Fraissinet | 94 Anne Franc. de St. Felix |
| 54 L. J. Bp. de Gotier Latouche | 95 Jean Paul M. de Pins |
| 55 Et. Alex. de Gueydau | 96 J. Fr. Alph. de Village Villevieille |
| 56 Fr. Adonis de Castellane | 97 Victor Phil. de Caissotti Boubion |
| 57 Henri Fr. de Guiran la Brilland | 98 Bernard L. du Haget |
| 58 René Ch. de Gras Preville | 99 P. Clem. de Carrierd d'Auffreri |
| 59 Gilbert Fr. de Montealm Gozon | 100 J. de Chalvet |
| 60 Clet Je. Ign. de Resseguier | 101 Surleon de Tressamanes |
| 61 Et. de Lari la Tour | 102 Ch. de Ponteves Maubousquet |

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| 103 J. Bap. Ant. de Grimaldi Boeil | 144 Ch. Balth. de Roquefeuil |
| 104 J. Fr. M. de Chatret | 145 L. Fr. d'Algaies Dufour Barbazan |
| 105 Toussaint Siffren Desisnardi | 146 P. Paul de la Roche Fontenille |
| 106 Ant. René Bardonenche | 147 Amable Depanse de Seytre Caumont |
| 107 Alex. Gus. Siregand d'Erce | 148 Phil. de Roquefeuille |
| 108 J. Bap. de Reinaud Falicon | 149 Franc. de Maillard |
| 109 Aug. Je. Rai. de Gras Preville | 150 Paul d'Amalvin Montazet Pachin |
| 110 Ponce Roger de Catelan | 151 P. Julie de Roquelaurd St. Aubin |
| 111 Chaude de la Croix Pisançon | 152 Jerome Aug. de Leaumont |
| 112 J. C. de la Croix Chevrieres St. Vallier | 153 Arsene Ch. de Forbin d'Oppede |
| 113 René L. de Gras Preville | 154 Paul de Seguin Pazzi |
| 114 P. Ant. de Tertulle la Beaume Pluvind | 155 Ch. Regis de Grimaldi |
| 115 Jean André de Bertrand | 156 Ch. P. Saturnin du Puget |
| 116 C. P. de la Croix Chevrieres St. Vallier | 157 Louis Ignace de Grimaldi |
| 117 Jac. Jos. de Lestang Parade | 158 Ciriaque Ignace des Isnards |
| 118 Mar. G. de Galleau Gudaigue | 159 Jean Jos d'Aveslens Moneal |
| 119 C. E. Languedoc de Guignard St. Priest | 160 Anne Isidore de Mallard |
| 120 Cs. Dom. Desisnard | 161 Jules Franc. de Lascaris |
| 121 J. Martin de Morard | 162 Louis Philippe de Sade |
| 122 Nicolas de Rouffignac | 163 P. Simons Despierre Desports de Bernis |
| 123 J. Ans. de Peire Chateauneuf | 164 Jean J. de Martin Mailholas |
| 124 Gabriel de la Croix Chevrieres Pisançon | 165 Casimir de Roquefeuille |
| 125 Phil. Sil. de l'Epine du Panet | 166 Dom. Louis de Montcorneil |
| 126 Ch. Felix de Galean Gadaigne | 167 Alph. P. de Vausserre des Adrets |
| 127 Marie Jos. de la Treille Fosieres | 168 Ch. Aug. de Fabry Fabregues |
| 128 Franç. J. de Roquefeuil | 169 P. de Douhet d'Angers |
| 129 Jean Jacques de Galard | 170 Jean Alex. de l'Estang Parade |
| 130 G. Anne de Forbin Gardane | 171 Balthas Hugues de Borulle |
| 131 Jos. Henri de Puget Bras | 172 Hon. Roger de Cays |
| 132 Mare Jos. de Grattel du Bouchage | 173 Victor Franc. de Roux de Puivret |
| 133 Mare Isidore de Roevel | 174 Dominiq. de Pradine Barsa |
| 134 Anne Leopold de Larrion Nisas | 175 P. Cat. de Gironde Montcorneil |
| 135 Marie de Chatelard | 176 Paul Brunn de Seguins Vassieux |
| 136 Jean Elizabeth de St. Felix | 177 P. Franc. de Castelnaud |
| 137 E. Claude de Robins Barbantane | 178 Em. Jos. du Lac |
| 138 Jean G. de Sisnards | 179 Anne Joachim de Grimaldi |
| 139 L. Diendoné de Montealm | 180 Jean Maur. de Thaon Revel |
| 140 Fr. Jos. de Grattel du Bouchage | 181 P. Cas. de Blacas d'Aups |
| 141 Jos. Mar. de Latour Landorte | 182 Octave d'Ailli Macarani |
| 142 Fr. Jos. Dubourg | 183 P. Amé de Marcieu |
| 143 J. J. d'Amalvin Montages Pachin | 184 Aug. P. de Forbin d'Oppede |

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| 183 Silv. Theod. de Villeneuve d'Ansouis | 226 Paul lue de Boyer d'Argens |
| 186 René de Leumont | 227 Vict. de Pourroy Lauberiviere Quinsonas |
| 187 Jean B. de l'Estrade Cedousse | 228 Alex. lue de Boyer d'Argens |
| 188 Louis Cather de Castreras | 229 Alex. César de la Panouse du Colombier |
| 189 Jean C. de Chailan | 230 Auguste Leon de Pontevéz |
| 190 Jos. Paul d'Hautpoul | 231 Jean Xaver de Buisson Bournazel |
| 191 Jos. Melch. de l'Etang Parade | 232 Claude Xaver de Buisson Bournazel |
| 192 Jean C. Hippo. de Castellane | 233 Marie Franc. Louis d'Hautpoul |
| 193 Jean Jacques de Vie | 234 Jean B. Ant. de Montralier Parazols |
| 194 Elie Grat. de Cardailiac | 235 Jos. Amb. de Marcel Blein du Poet |
| 195 Thom. Baltas. de Villeneuve Trans. | 236 Jean Joseph de Geres de Louppes |
| 196 Ant. Cas. de Rappelis Rogné | 237 Ch. de St. Felix |
| 197 Paul Victor Dhebrail | 238 Jean B. Franc. de Vassal Montviel |
| 198 Ant. L. de Bessuejoux Roquelaure | 239 Jean M. de Roquelaure St. Aubin |
| 199 Bruno Gabr. Dubourg | 240 M. Ant. de la Croix Chevrieres de Seyve |
| 200 Jean Dulcide de Sevin Segougnac | 241 Guill. Elis. de Belissens |
| 201 Mercure P. de Corn Caissac | 242 Jean J. de St. Felix |
| 202 Ch. de Martin du Tirac Marcellus | 243 Jos. Cl. Fr. de Lorn Caissac |
| 203 Juste Franc. de Monteynard Montfrin | 244 Phil. Casim. de Tournou Simiane |
| 204 Jos. Ign. de Monteynard Montfrin | 245 Gabriel de Grattel du Bouehage |
| 205 Cæsar Alex. de Bardonenche | 246 Jos. André Doria |
| 206 Louis Ang. de Leumont | 247 Franc. Jos. de Gerez Louppes |
| 207 Enard P. de la Tour du Pin Montauban | 248 Pierre de Bellisens |
| 208 Pierre Phev. de Sevin Segougnac | 249 D. Seip. de Grimoard Beauvoir du Rouré |
| 209 Esprit Eugene de Grimaldi Raguse | 250 De Beaumont Brison |
| 210 Ch. Jean du Pac Bellegarde | 251 Ange Fr. de la Panouse Colombier |
| 211 Adolp. de Pourvy Lauberiviere Quinsonas | 252 Aug. Michel de Baroncelis Javon |
| 212 Alph. Br. de Fortioc de Pilles | 253 Hugue de la Grange Gourdon Floirac |
| 213 Jean Marie de Ginebrouse | 254 Simon Franc. de Pina |
| 214 Roch. de Carrion d'Espagne Nisas | 255 Jean Jos. Cesar de Puel Parlan |
| 215 René Louis de la Panouse Colombier | 256 Franc. Aug. d'Aurel |
| 216 A. F. de la Croix de Chevières St. Vallin | 257 David Sigism. de la Tour Montauban |
| 217 Joseph Marie de Mazelieres | 258 Melchior d'Arbaud Jouques |
| 218 Gerard Paul de Puimirol | 259 Felix Eugene de Tournon |
| 219 Jos. Prosper d'Hautpoul | 260 Marie Jos. de Bausset Roquefort |
| 220 Jean B. de Manleon Montlezun | 261 Louis du Perier |
| 221 Jean M. Honoré de Sastie St. Jal | 262 Jacq. Jean de Saint Exupery |
| 222 Ch. Maurice de Seytre Caumont | 263 Louis An. de Forbin la Barben |
| 223 P. Fr. Xav. de Sevin Segougnac | 264 J. L. de Ginestottx Gravieres |
| 224 Celestin Cather de St. Felix | 265 Jos. Cas. de Raphelis Soissan |
| 225 Marc. Ant. de Sexupery Roussignad | 266 Jean B. de Villeneuve Bargement |

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| 267 Louis Fr. de Thomassin St. Paul | 284 P. Ant. d'Arche |
| 268 Pierre de Gerez Loupez | 285 Marie de Chayenet Puysegur |
| 269 Jean B. Jos. de Chiavary Cabassoles | 286 Gabr. Martial Desisnards |
| 270 Jean V. de Ginestoux Gravieres | 287 Jos. Jules Cæsar M. de Fumel |
| 271 Jos. Constant de Margalet | 288 Pierre Xavier de Burras |
| 272 Marie Barthel de Castel Bajac | 289 Louis Jean de Tauriac |
| 273 Louis de Raoulx Raousset Boulbon | 290 Antoine de Tauriac |
| 274 Guill. Ch. de Raousset Seillon | 291 Henri César de Roux Vibrac |
| 275 Franç. Fort de Forbin Gardanne | 292 L. Jos. de Roux Lafare |
| 276 Alex. Isid. de David Bequiregard | 293 Marc. Ant. Theod. de Comminges |
| 277 Auguste de Chailan Mories | 294 Raim. Etienne de Peyre Chateaneuf |
| 278 Aug. M. de Pelletier la Garde | 295 Alex. Mich. de Colbert |
| 279 Franç. de Caucabanne Baudignan | 296 Henri de la Fantzun |
| 280 J. Aug. d'Angos Boucarres | 297 L. Henry de Labay Viellâ |
| 281 Bernard Dordeignes | 298 Jacques Henri de Bonal |
| 282 André de Raoulx Raousset Boulbon | 299 Franç. de Sales Jul. de Pezier |
| 283 Emmanuel de Suffren | 300 Joseph André de Morel Villeneuve Mons. |

List of the Knights of the Venerable Language of Auvergne.

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|---|---|
| 1 Clau. M. de Sainte Colombe de Laubepin | 21 Jos. Alex. de Fricon |
| 2 L. Alex. de Savary Lancosme | 22 Franç. M. de Chatillon |
| 3 M. L. Ant. de Garrie Duzech | 23 Jean de Bosredon de Ransijat |
| 4 Amable de St. Julien de la Rochette | 24 P. Al. de Mouspey de Vallière |
| 5 G. de la Richardie de Besse | 25 J. Jos. de Millet d'Arvillars |
| 6 Jacq. de la Rocheaymont Meusac | 26 Seb. Gilb. Franç. de Laqueuille |
| 7 Ch. Abel de Loras | 27 J. de Bosredont du Poirier |
| 8 Anne Phil. de Petremaus de Vallay | 28 Hercule de Ligondes Rochefort |
| 9 L. Ros. Franç. de Loras | 29 J. Marc de Lagarde de Saignes |
| 10 Jean P. de Gain de Linars | 30 Gilbert Amable de Montaignac |
| 11 Jos. Pie de Menon de Ville | 31 J. Franç. de Buffevant |
| 12 Franç. Aimé d'Ussel de Chateauvert | 32 Jacq. Ant. de Roquet des Tresses |
| 13 Jean Jacq. de Seyssel | 33 Sidoine de Bosredont de Ligny |
| 14 J. B. de Latterie du Saillaut | 34 Arm. J. L. de Laqueuille |
| 15 Franç. L. de Bosredon | 35 Marie Ant. Herc. de Rivoire de la Tourette |
| 16 Georg. Simon de Vaulchier du Deschaux | 36 Marc. Ant. de Raynaud de Monts |
| 17 Franç. du Peyroux | 37 Jos. de Bosredont de Manoux |
| 18 Jean Soup de Virieu Beauvoir | 38 Marc. Jos. de Meuttel de Fargues |
| 19 Dieudonné Tancrede, de Gratet Dolomieu | 39 M. Fr. Alph. de Rivoire de la Tourette |
| 20 Thomas de Rigaud Serezin | 40 Jacq. Jos. de Pesteils |

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| 41 Guy Lou. Timol. Dauberjou de Murinais | 82 Franç. de Meallet de Fargues |
| 42 Jos. de la Porte | 83 Ant. Jos. d'Agay |
| 43 Amable de Ligondes Rochefort | 84 Marc. Fr. de Rigaud Serezin |
| 44 Hector Lou. de Barbançois | 85 Ch. Jos. de Franchet de Ran |
| 45 Ch. Felix de Masson Deselaus | 86 Thom. Benj. de Poix |
| 46 Jean B. de Boesozel de Mongontier | 87 Ch. Alex. de Moreton Chabrillan |
| 47 Ant. Gab. de Ligondes Rochefort | 88 Henri de Carbonnieres de Boussac |
| 48 J. Barth. de Meuttet de Fargues | 89 Ch. Humbert de Mont d'Or |
| 49 Edme Phil. de Marcellanges | 90 J. Jos. de Meallet de Fargues |
| 50 Benj. de la Celle de Bouary | 91 Franç. de Guillaumanche |
| 51 Franc. de Bertrand Beaumont | 92 Juste Char. de Fay Latour Maubourg |
| 52 Hugues Marien de Fontanges | 93 Gabr. de St. Maurice Chatenois |
| 53 Alex. de Boczosel de Mongontier | 94 Bernard Jos. de Conti Fatelans |
| 54 J. Alex. de Clairmont de Touche Boeuf | 95 Henri Fr. de Rigaud Serezin |
| 55 J. Fr. de Bosredont Vieilvoisin | 96 Alex. Fr. de Barthou de Montbas |
| 56 Fr. de Senneterre de Dreuille | 97 Desiré Adr. de Petreman de Vallay |
| 57 Fr. Telem. de Costa | 98 Louis Gilbert de Luzi Couzan |
| 58 Etienne Annet de Ferré | 99 Louis Vig. de Chavagnac |
| 59 Jean Fr. de Bancenel | 100 Louis M. Alex. de Poix |
| 60 M. Vict. Nic. de Fay de la Tour Maubourg | 101 Etienne Marie de Roys |
| 61 Alphonse Guy de Gratet Dolomieu | 102 Jean B. de Bertrand Beaumont |
| 62 G. de Maréchal | 103 P. Leon. de Bort de Pierrefitte |
| 63 Cas. Aug. de Gratet Dolomieu | 104 Gilbert Marie de Roys |
| 64 Franç. de Chamboran de Droux | 105 Marie Jos. de Vese de Become |
| 65 Franç. André de Pesteils la Chapelle | 106 Ch. de Guillot du Doussay |
| 66 Leonard Barthou de Montbas | 107 Ant. Armand de Rivoire de la Tourette |
| 67 Joseph du Peyroux | 108 Ch. Jacq. de Marsange |
| 68 Fr. de Bertrand Beaumont Pouligny | 109 Ant. Silv. du Peyroux |
| 69 L. Alex. de S. Maceris Chatenois | 110 Pierre de Ligondes de Nouzerines |
| 70 René Jos. du Peyroux de Jardon | 111 Jean B. de Varennes |
| 71 Amable Freder. de Ligondés | 112 Fr. Pros. de Jacquot d'Andelarre |
| 72 Nic. Leop. de Redesne | 113 P. Oct. de Mouestay de Chazeron |
| 73 Ch. de Monestay de Chazeron | 114 Jean Jos. de Beaurepaire |
| 74 Othon F. Pougny de Guillet de Monthaux | 115 Guillaume de S. Colombe |
| 75 Jos. de Guin de Linars | 116 Guill. Ch. d'Angeville |
| 76 Etienne Jos. Henri Duc | 117 Fr. M. de Joussineau |
| 77 J. Aynard de Jaquôt d'Andelarre | 118 Ch. de Burentin de Montchal |
| 78 Jos. Gabr. de Leusse | 119 Henri Castellás |
| 79 Jos. Alex. de Boucheron d'Ambrugeac | 120 Silvain de Bosredont |
| 80 Gilbert Amable de Montaignac | 121 Louis de la Forest de Divonne |
| 81 Jos. de Montaignac Chauvance | 122 Jean Louis de Dienne |

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| 123 Jos. le Graing | 139 Ant. Vict. d'Aubojon de Murinais |
| 124 Louis M. le Groing | 140 Ch. Ad. de Coustin du Masnadeau |
| 125 Mar. Fr. de la Forest de Divonne | 141 Ch. Arm. de Coustin du Masnadeau |
| 126 Jean le Roy d'Allarde | 142 Fr. Anne de Bonneval |
| 127 Ant. Franç. d'Hautier de Villemonté | 143 Ant. d'Hautier de Villemonté |
| 128 Franç. M. de Leusse | 144 Marc. M. de Champagne |
| 129 Louis Anne de Poix | 145 Eugene Fred. de Garnier |
| 130 Denis Mar. de Begon de la Rousière | 146 Jean M. de Bosredont Vatange |
| 131 L. Fr. de Bertrand Beaumont | 147 Jean B. des Bordes du Chatelet |
| 132 Jean Fr. de Douhet de Marlat | 148 Louis Aug. d'Hautier de Villemonté |
| 133 Claude de Begon de la Rousière | 149 Jean B. de Trion |
| 134 Jean Jos. de la Tour | 150 Ch. Jos. de Trion |
| 135 Marien de Serazin | 151 Jean Eléon. de Petremans de Vallay |
| 136 Ch. Jos. des Bordes du Chatelet | 152 Pierre de Bort de Pierrefitte |
| 137 Louis Jos. Alex. de Rose | 153 Fr. de Mongenet |
| 138 Franç. Ursule de Bertrand Beaumont | 154 Mar. Bern. Ennemond de Menthon |

List of the Knights of the Venerable Language of France.

PRIORIES OF FRANCE.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Ant. Denis d'Alsace d'Hennin Lietard | 21 Louis M. Milano Franco d'Aragona |
| 2 Jacq. Arm. de Rogres de Champignelles | 22 Jean Charl. L. de Megrigny |
| 3 Nicolas Pierre d'Esno | 23 Ch. Fr. de Calonne d'Avesne |
| 4 Franç. de la Rue | 24 Ch. Fr. Flo. de Prad'homme de Nieuport |
| 5 Hubert Louis de Putant | 25 P. Ch. de Megrigny de Ville Bertin |
| 6 Ch. Domin. Curdevac d'Havrincourt | 26 Aug. Louis de Mallard |
| 7 Claude Rouvroy de St. Simon Sandricour | 27 Fr. L. de Lombellon des Essars |
| 8 Pierre de Mauleon de Savailant | 28 Herc. Alex. de Rassent |
| 9 Ch. Marie du Roux de Varennes | 29 Guill. René de Monteanisy |
| 10 Franç. Ther. de Geraldin | 30 L. Jerome de Goujon de Thuisy |
| 11 Ch. de Vion de Gailhon | 31 Edouard Henri de Fitzjames |
| 12 Eustache de Vauquelin | 32 Balthasar Alex. d'Ennetieres de Mouseron |
| 13 Ch. Franç. de Cacheleu de Baromenil | 33 Alex. Jos. Ad. le Roy de Ville |
| 14 Marie L. Lexier d'Haute Feuille | 34 Fr. Constant de Campion de Mont Pognant |
| 15 Fr. Marie de Boniface | 35 Ch. Louis Gui de Valory |
| 16 Louis de Tailleraud | 36 Ch. L. Ed. du Tillet |
| 17 Louis de Mascarani | 37 L. Mar. Aug. d'Estourmel |
| 18 Eugene Hercule de Rogan | 38 Fr. Jos. d'Hennin Lietard d'Alsace |
| 19 Franç. P. de Boniface de Reel | 39 And. Bon. Louis de Riquetti de Mirabeau |
| 20 Anne César de la Luzerne | 40 Phil. L. d'Hennin Lietard |

- 41 Alex. Theod. Vict. de Lameth
- 42 Ch. Jean de Calonne de Courte Bourne
- 43 Fr. Henri Eustace d'Omonville
- 44 Henri L. le Baile d'Argenteuil
- 45 L. Alex. Vict. de Dams d'Anlezy
- 46 P. L. le Febvre Duquesnoy
- 47 Fr. de Boschenty de Drucourt
- 48 Jean Claude de Forget
- 49 Anne Geor. de Campion de Montpognan
- 50 L. Fr. de l'Amirault
- 51 Alex. Louis Fr. le Febvre de Caumartin
- 52 Henri Aimé de Neel de St. Marie
- 53 Ch. Alb. M. Hue de Caligny
- 54 Casimir Louis de Valory
- 55 A. Char. Tose de Lostanges de St. Alvaire
- 56 Ch. Louis Picot de Dampierre
- 57 Ch. Franç. de Goujon de Thuisy
- 58 Alex. Theod. Vict. de Lameth
- 59 René Cesar de Courtarvel de Pezé
- 60 L. G. de Tulle de Ville Franche
- 61 Jean Henri le Febvre Duquesnoy
- 62 Alex. Em. de Crussoi
- 63 Ferd. Max. Aug. de Plotho d'Ingelmunster
- 64 P. M. de Grave
- 65 Nic. Franç. Costard de Mery
- 66 Adrien L. Nic. Dauvet
- 67 A. M. L. Aym. de Gaudeshard de Querieux
- 68 Alex. Max. Em. de Guerin de Tourville
- 69 Gab. Alfr. Fr. d'Estud d'Ussay
- 70 M. Ad. Gust de Sparre
- 71 Paul Bern d'Anneville
- 72 Greg. Cath. du Lac du Vicecomtat
- 73 Fr. Jos. de Simiane
- 74 Claude Fr. de la Mire de Mory
- 75 Jacq. Alex. de Cornet de Briquesart
- 76 Ant. Jean d'Allonville
- 77 Marie Jos. de Vincens de Mauleon d'Astaude de Causans
- 78 Emm. Jos. de Borheut d'Hoogscraten
- 79 Mar. Bonaventure de Belloy de Morangles
- 80 Ant. Fr. Thom. de Domangeville
- 81 P. M. Phil. des Reaux
- 82 C. A. Franc. Guil. de la Tour St. Quentin
- 83 Alex. P. Pompe de Godard de Belbeuf
- 84 Jules Honoré César de Courtarvel
- 85 Adél. Ch. Jos. de la Vallée de Pimodan
- 86 Ant. Ed. Jos. de Rhothe
- 87 A. L. Jean de Rouvroy de St. Simon Sandricourt
- 88 Chr. Arm. Vict. de Beaumont
- 89 Eleon. Jacq. Fr. de Salle de Gouyon de Diziers de Montlivaux
- 90 Lancelot Maur. Turpin de Crissey
- 91 Jean Louis René de Courtarvell
- 92 L. Hon. Kostka de la Trimonille
- 93 Jean B. Bern. Desiré de Borhout d'Hoogscraten
- 94 Ch. Greg. du Lac du Vice Comtat
- 95 Donatien Cheude Arm. de Sade
- 96 L. Aug. de Mallot de Goussonville
- 97 Jean Marie César de Carondelet
- 98 André Louis de Rouvroy de St. Simon Sandricourt
- 99 Marie Ch. Guil. de Lamoignon
- 100 Alex. L. d'Allonville
- 101 L. Alex. M. de Vallon de Boucheron d'Ambrugeac
- 102 Ch. Henri Duval de l'Escaude
- 103 Hippol. Ch. M. de Bouillé du Charriot
- 104 Casim. Marie Vict. de Gouyon de Diziers
- 105 Ch. Franç. Cas. de Gouberville
- 106 Nicolas Ch. Dulac du Vice Comtat
- 107 Alex. René de Meaupon
- 108 L. Mar. Jos. de Vanderstruten
- 109 Anne Ch. Fred. Amb. de Beaulere
- 110 Henri Fr. de Grouchy
- 111 Ferd. Jos. Const. de Bouzies
- 112 Jos. Theoph. Parfait de Beziade d'Avary
- 113 Adam Ch. Gust. de Chassepot de Beaumont de Pissy
- 114 Jacq. Gasp. de Morel de Than
- 115 L. Ch. Damoiseau de Provençy

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| 116 Amable Louis Eleou de Bertoult | 148 Marie Jos. Auguste Guill. de Lichtervelde |
| 117 Maurice Gabr. Jos. de Riguet de Caran | 149 Adrien Antoine M. de Wignacourt |
| 118 Fr. Jos. Phil. de Riguet de Caraman | 150 Guill. L. de Montigny |
| 119 Claude Herbert Louis de Rouvroy, de St. Simon Sandricourt | 151 P. M. de Vallon du Boucheron d'Ambrugeac |
| 120 Jean B. Louis Pollux Chambon d'Arbouville | 152 Robert Jose d'Everlange Witry |
| 121 Jean B. de Pasquier de Francieu | 153 L. Fort de Riencourt |
| 122 Ant. Claude de Pasquier de Francieu | 154 L. Auguste de Gyemare |
| 123 Dominiq. Ferd. Max. Lefebvre de Latre | 155 Marin Aug. P. Senot de la Londe |
| 124 Alex. Jos. Leon de Tramecourt | 156 Florent Amour de Lannoy de Clervaux |
| 125 Mar. Alb. Eug. Regis de Tramecourt | 157 Franç. Paul Alex. de Grieux d'Estimenville |
| 126 Ch. de la Croix de Tallevande | 158 Ch. Alex. Ant. le Prud'homme d'Haily |
| 127 René Const. de Neel de St. Marie | 159 Alex. Ch. de Signier |
| 128 Ch. L. Fr. de Mailly Couronel | 160 Armand Vespas. de Bisemont |
| 129 L. Edouard Drumont de Melfort | 161 Jean Fr. M. de Lanfranchy |
| 130 Edou. Char. Victor de Colbert de Maulevrier | 162 Jos. M. Max. de Lanfranchy |
| 131 Ch. Raimond. Silv. de Berenger | 163 L. Ange de Flavigny de Monampteuil |
| 132 P. Fr. le Fevre de Latre | 164 Augustin Louis Franc. J. de Ligneris |
| 133 Alex. M. Em. le Filleul de la Chapelle | 165 Alexis Jos. Constant de Robert de Choisy de Robersart |
| 134 Ambr. Fr. Hipp. de Rebours | 166 Ferdin. M. Jos. Guil. de Vanyolden |
| 135 Arnau Edou. Fr. Morin de Vaulaville | 167 Jean B. de Caqueray de St. Orme |
| 136 Fr. M. Jacq. Gab. de Vauquelin | 168 Sal. de Caqueray de St. Orme |
| 137 Phil. Jean Ch. de Fay | 169 Ch. Anne Auguste de Fay |
| 138 Fr. Henri de Cornet | 170 Ch. Jos. de Spangen |
| 139 Emma Jos. Vincell Guilain de Rindsmaul | 171 Jos. Xav. Ch. Raph. Philippe Benit de Saxe |
| 140 Eustache Gaetan Maurice Guilain de Plotho d'Ingelmunster | 172 Marc Louis Ch. de Livet de Barville |
| 141 Gilles L. Amable de Rome Frequiennes | 173 Desiré Hubert Jean Nep. Colette Guilerin de Nieutans |
| 142 Alex. Fr. Magl. de Signier | 174 Ch. Alex. Fort M. Hub. Colette |
| 143 Alberie Ch. Henri d'Hespel d'Hoeron | 175 Guil. de Nieutans |
| 144 Auguste Gaetan de la Rochefoucault | 176 Michel Jean B. de Boschenry de Dru-court |
| 145 Fr. Henri de Morel de Than | 177 Alex. Gabriel de Cracheleu |
| 146 Jean Chrisostome Antoine de Rebours | 178 Alex. Marie Arm. de Livet de Barville |
| 147 Alex. Jacques Louis de Rebours | 179 Louis Constantin de Gouberville |

PRIORY OF AQUITAINE.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 René Anne Hippolite de Brilhac | 37 Henri M. Robin de Tramblaye |
| 2 Louis Joseph des Ecotais de Chantilly | 38 Louis Charette de la Coliniere |
| 3 René Jacob de Tigné | 39 Louis Georges Maurice de Lantivy |
| 4 Jacques de Bremond | 40 Claude Amable Franç. Robin de la Tram- |
| 5 Franc. Jacq. de Calan | blaye |
| 6 Franç. Paris de Soulange | 41 René Dominiq. de Messemé |
| 7 Alexis de la Haye Monbault | 42 Jean Louis Ch. Franç. de Livenne |
| 8 Leon Hyacinthe, Lingier de St. Sulpice | 43 Jean B. de Cornulier |
| 9 Jean Char. Franç. de Meaussé | 44 Thimoleon M. Franç. d'Aubery du Mau- |
| 10 Joseph Louis Innocent de Tudert | rier |
| 11 Jean Henri de la Laurencie | 45 Louis Franç. Desmiers de Dercie d'Archiac |
| 12 Philippe du Chene de S. Leger | 46 Ch. Alex. René de Surineau |
| 13 Ch. Segin de Brilhac | 47 Dimanche Pascal Philippe du Chilleau |
| 14 Jean Franc. d'Arsac de Ternay | 48 Edouard M. Ferd. de la Moussaye |
| 15 L. Ch. Honoré d'Auray de St. Pois | 49 Phil. de Greslier de Concise |
| 16 Alex. de la Motte Baracé | 50 Amateur Hippolite de Freslon de la Fres- |
| 17 Michel Hubert Louis de Murat | loniere |
| 18 Franç. de la Laurencie | 51 Jean Ch. César Jos. de Livenne |
| 19 Louis Fr. George le Vaucouleur de Lan- | 52 Constant de Guinnebaud de la Grostiere |
| jamet | 53 Alex. Louis Hugues de Freslon de la Fres- |
| 20 Claude Rolland le Jumeau de Blou | loniere |
| 21 Ch. Toussaint de la Bourdonnay-Montluc | 54 Ch. Franç. d'Andigné |
| 22 Julien Alex. du Chaffault | 55 Ch. de la Bonninie de Beaumont |
| 23 Claude Toussaint Marie Bisien | 56 Ch. Louis de la Chastre |
| 24 Louis Anne de Chabot | 57 Anne Ch. de Bailli de Fresnay |
| 25 Ch. Louis de Rechignevoisin de Guron | 58 Marc. Fel. de Mondion |
| 26 Hugues Gab. de Villedon | 59 Franç. Jules Gaspard de Contades |
| 27 Jean René du Chatel | 60 Pierre Franç. Phil. de la Chastres |
| 28 Henri des Mazis | 61 Ch. Augustin du Chaffault |
| 29 Phil. Franç. Denis de Menou | 62 Jacq. Leon Jourdan de Villiers |
| 30 Esprit Louis Barthel. de la Bourdonnaye | 63 Louis Henri Guignard de Champ Savoy |
| 31 Gabriel M. de la Roche Saint André | 64 Theodat de Bonnefoy de Bretonville |
| 32 Ch. Louis de Chateigner | 65 Jacq. Franç. M. de la Vivière Beuil |
| 33 Fidel Amant Celestin de Greslier | 66 Phil. Daniel Jourdain de Villiers |
| 34 Ch. Anne du Bonetier | 67 Honoré Gregoire de la Rivière Beuil |
| 35 Joseph M. de la Moussaye | 68 Louis Ch. Bonav. P. de Mesnard |
| 36 Etienne Marie Desmiers de Dercie d'Ar- | 69 Louis Auguste de la Chastres |
| chiac | 70 Louis Jean Dubuat |

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| 71 L. Fr. Hardouin de la Girouardière | 93 L. Agathe Marie de Kergu |
| 72 César Casim. Robin de la Tramblaye | 94 Anne G. Bonaventure de Bejarry |
| 73 Ch. Hector de Brusse | 95 Ch. M. de Villedon de Gournay |
| 74 Jos. Roch. Sophie de Martel | 96 P. Marie Louis de Boisgelin |
| 75 P. René du Pin de la Guerivière | 97 Marie Henri Louis de Mouillebert |
| 76 Jean Amaury Perrin de la Courbejolière | 98 Georges M. René de Penfentenyo de
Cheffontaines |
| 77 Gilbert Alexis Aimé de Guerry | 99 Hyacinthe Laur. Victor de la Houssaye |
| 78 Isidore Agathou Videlou de Villetechart | 100 Alexandre Jos. de Boisgelin |
| 79 Marc Antoine de Liniers | 101 Achille Balda Hen. L. de Bejarry |
| 80 Jean Franç. du Pin de la Guerivière | 102 Hilaire Ch. René de la Rivière Beuil |
| 81 Jean B. du René de St. Leger | 103 Amant Louis M. Urbain de Peufeutenyo de
Cheffontaines |
| 82 Armand Michel de Crochard | 104 Ambroise Jos. Etienne Marie de Peufeutenyo de
Cheffontaines |
| 83 Gui Felicité de Lantivy | 105 Armand Ch. de Bejarry |
| 84 Camille Phil. de Lantivy | 106 Quentin Jos. Després d'Ambreuil |
| 85 Louis du Vergier de la Rochejaquelin | 107 Alexis P. André de Fouchier de Vaugely |
| 86 Aug. René de Meaufeu | 108 Jean Jacob de Tigné |
| 87 Jean M. des Hayeux de Kerannevel | 109 Louis Venant Alexis de Villedon |
| 88 Charles Fr. de Guerry de Beauregard | 110 Armand J. de Bailli de Fresnay |
| 89 Augustin Louis Joseph de la Houssaye | |
| 90 Vincent M. Franç. de la Houssaye | |
| 91 Paul Julien de Jouffrey | |
| 92 Jean B. Simon M. de la Binttbinaye | |

PRIORY OF CHAMPAGNE.

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|--|---|
| 1 Pierre d'Alsace d'Hennin Lutard | 15 Ant. G. d'Moyra de Chatillon |
| 2 Blaise Léopold le Prud'homme de Fontenoy | 16 Henri Elie Victor de Balatier de Lantage |
| 3 Ch. de Clugny | 17 Claude M. Dieudonné de Balivy de Meurigny |
| 4 Ch. Franç. de Clugny | 18 Fr. Char. de Bataille de Dampierre |
| 5 Fr. Pierre de la Madelaine de Ragny | 19 L. P. de Balatier de Lantage |
| 6 Louis Aug. de la Vallée de Pimodan | 20 Charles César Aug. Desiré de Pleure |
| 7 Jacques Phil. Gabriel des Barres | 21 Ch. L. Ant. Desiré de Pleure |
| 8 Paul Henri François des Barres | 22 David Georges de Gestar de l'Esperoux |
| 9 Jean B. de Circourt | 23 Jean Claude Ch. Helene de Massol de Rebetz |
| 10 Fr. Jos. Touss. d'Hannonville | 24 Alexis Louis d'Alençon |
| 11 P. Chr. de la Vallée de Pimodan | 25 Ch. Leop. Jos. du Pont de Compiègne |
| 12 Charles Picot de Dampierre | 26 P. Fr. le Prêtre de Vauban |
| 13 Ignace Jean de Gourcy | 27 Anne Aimé Alex. de Toulangeon |
| 14 Alex. Ant. Nic. de Rosiere d'Euvesin | |

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|---|---|
| 28 Patrice Gabr. Bernard de Montesus de Nully | 45 L. Hubert Plaicard de Chastenay |
| 29 Ch. Gabr. Fr. de Laurencin de Beaufort | 46 Ch. Theoph. Albert de Bethisy |
| 30 Ch. Jos. de Gondrecourt | 47 Claude Alex. L. de Pont Prassin |
| 31 G. Fr. le Compasseur Crequi Montfort de Courtivron | 48 Ch. Jos. Marie de Gondrecourt de Cou-
sance |
| 32 Jos. Etienne Bernard de Sassenay | 49 Achilles Maur. de Folin |
| 33 Louis Victor de Folin Ville Comté | 50 Gui Hugues de Macheco de Premaux |
| 34 Henry Dieudonné Fr. de Greisches de Jallancourt | 51 Fr. Phil. Gaston de Rosières d'Euversin |
| 35 Claude M. Antoine de Laurencin de Beaufort | 52 Jos. Vanne Aug. Livier de Raygecourt de
Gournay |
| 36 Mansuy Remy de Greisches d'Agneville | 53 Louis Victor de Folin de Ville Comté |
| 37 Charles Thomas Pase de Greisches d'Agneville | 54 Nicolas Jean P. Gabr. Theod. Leger de
Canon de Ville |
| 38 Anne Ch. le Roy de Chavigny de Montluc | 55 Philip. Ant. Aug. Franç. de Paule de Ca-
non de Ville |
| 39 G. Et. Bern. de Sassenay | 56 Jos. Fr. Xavier de Beaurepaire |
| 40 Louis M. de Brachet | 57 Cl. L. Cécile du Houx de Dombasle |
| 41 Fr. P. de Machéco de Prémaux | 58 P. Fr. Nic. Vict. de Rose |
| 42 Camille Alex. de Rosières d'Euvesin | 59 Phil. Aimé de Maillet |
| 43 Jacq. Plaicard le Roy de Chavigny de Montluc | 60 Phil. Amedé Ant. de Beaurepaire |
| 44 César L. Max. Gabr. le Compasseur de Courtivron | 61 Jean Jos. de Bouvet |
| | 62 L. G. Ant. de Toussaint |
| | 63 Ch. Thibaut d'Hoffelize |
| | 64 Georg. M. Ant. de Massot |
| | 65 Franç. L. Ant. J. B. G. de Massol |

No. XXIV.

N A M E S

OF THE

BAILIFFS OF BRANDENBURG.

					When elected.	Year of their death.
1	Gebhard de Bortefelde, after	-	-	-	1327	
	died about the year	-	-	-		1349
2	Herrman de Wereberge	-	-	-	1350	1371
3	Bernard de la Schulenburg	-	-	-	1372	1397
4	Detlev de Walmede	-	-	-	1397	1399
5	Reimar de Güntersberg	-	-	-	1401	1419
6	Busso de Alvensleben	-	-	-	1420	1424
7	Battasard de Schlieben	-	-	-	1424	1437
8	Nicholas de Thyrbach	-	-	-	1437	1459
9	Henry de Reder	-	-	-	1459	1460
10	Liborius de Schlieben	-	-	-	1460	1472
11	Gaspard de Güntersberg	-	-	-	1472	1474
12	Richard de la Schulenburg	-	-	-	1475	1491
13	George de Schlabbendorf	-	-	-	1491	1526
14	Veit de Thumen	-	-	-	1527	1544
15	Joachim de Arnim*	-	-	-	1544	
16	Thomas Runge	-	-	-	1545	1564
17	Francis Neumann†	-	-	-	1564	
18	Martin, comte de Hohenstein, lord of Vieraden and Schwet	-	-	-	1569	1609
19	Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg, son of the elector John George IV.	-	-	-	1610	1611
20	Ernest, margrave of Brandenburg, sixth son of the elector Joachim Frederick	-	-	-	1611	1613
21	George Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, fifth son of the elector John George	-	-	-	1614	1615

* Abdicated in 1445.

† Disgraced by the margrave John. Many accusations being brought against him, he was imprisoned at Rampitz, and sent from thence to Sonneburg; but he made his escape by the assistance of the margrave's daughter, and went to Schwibus.

	When elected.	Year of their death.
22 John George, margrave of Brandenburg, second son of the elector Joachim Frederick - - - -	1616	1623
23 Joachim Sigismond, margrave of Brandenburg, second son of the elector John Sigismond - - - -	1624	1625
24 Adam Comte de Schwarzenberg, lord of Hohenlandsberg and Güntern* - - - -	1625	1642
25 John Maurice, prince of Nassau - - - -	1652	1679
26 George Frederick, prince of Waldeck - - - -	1689	1692
27 Charles Philip, margrave of Brandenburg, son of the elector Frederick William the Great - - - -	1693	1695
28 Albert Frederick, prince of Prussia, and margrave of Branden- burg, son of the elector Frederick William the Great -	1696	1731
29 Charles, prince of Prussia and margrave of Brandenburg, son of the above-mentioned bailiff - - - -	1731	1762
30 Augustus Ferdinand, prince of Prussia and margrave of Bran- denburg, son of Frederick William king of Prussia -	1762	

* After his death there was a vacancy of eleven years.

THE END.

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